HANDBOUND
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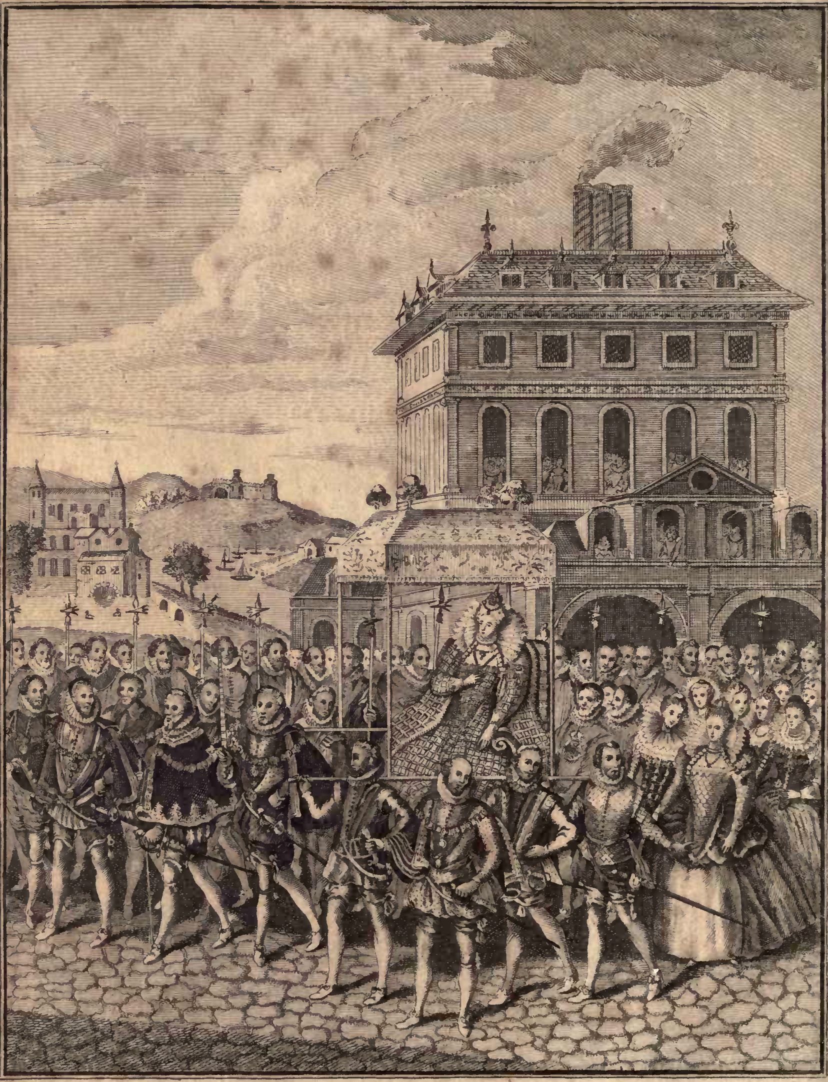

Dudley Earl of Leicester
is nearest the Queen.
Henry Lord Hunsdon
carries the sword of State
before the Queen.
William Lord Burleigh
Lord High Treasurer,
with his White Staff.
Before him is Ch.s Howard
Admiral, afterwards
Lord Nottingham, & other

The Royal Proceſsion of Queen Elizabeth
to visit the Rt Honourable
Henry Carey Lord Hunsdon,
Governor of Berwick upon Tweed,
Captain of the Band of
Gentlemen Penſioners,
Knight of the most noble order of the Garter,
Privy Counceller & Couſin German
to her *MAJESTY,*
by the Lady MARY *Sister to*
QUEEN ANNE BOLEN.

The Lady Hunsdon
in white first.
Elizabeth Sister of
Lord Hunsdon the
Wife of Admiral
Howard.
Other Ladies follow-
ing in the Train.
Yeomen of the Guards
Gentlemen Pensioners
and others &c.

HE.B
M7477

MEMOIRS
Of the LIFE of
ROBERT CARY,
Baron of LEPPINGTON,

AND

Earl of MONMOUTH.

Written by HIMSELF,

And now publiſhed from an original Manuſcript in the Cuſtody of

JOHN Earl of CORKE and ORRERY.

WITH SOME

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LONDON:
Printed by J. HUGHS near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields;
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GOD'S PROVIDENCE IS MY INHERITANCE
THÔ LAST NOT LEAST IN LOVE

TO THE

Honourable Edmund Boyle,

Accept, my dear Edmund, of a trifle, in which I only bear the part of an editor. Such as it may be, receive it as a token of my affection; for indeed, my dear Son, no words can expreſs with how much tenderneſs, hope, anxiety, and paternal love, I am,

now alas! your only Parent,

Corke and Orrery.

Marlborough-ſtreet,
Jan. 13. 1759.

THE

PREFACE.

AN honourable [*] Author, who in a juſt piece of criticiſm has exhibited ſo ſpirited a manner of writing, that he has given wit even to a dictionary, and vivacity to a catalogue of names, and has placed our royal and noble *Engliſh* writers in a more learned and eminent light than they have ever appeared before, having mentioned the Earl of *Monmouth*'s Memoirs as a manuſcript fit to be made public; in concurrence with his judgment, and from a deſire to exhibit a new picture of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* I. the following Memoirs are ſent into the world, with ſuch explanatory notes to the obſcure and remarkable paſſages, as may poſſibly render thoſe paſſages more intelligible and efficacious than they would otherwiſe have been.

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[*] Horatio Walpole, youngeſt ſon of Sir Robert Walpole, Knight of the Garter, afterwards Earl of Orford.

Moſt, if not all writers ſeem to imagine, that futurity muſt be as well acquainted as they themſelves are, with the times, cuſtoms, and manners, of which they write: and in points, that although apparently minute are really material, they give themſelves ſo little trouble, that many of their works, for want of proper exactneſs and attention, fall under the dreaded curſe either of obſoleteneſs or oblivion. For example; when a noble houſe is extinct, the title is frequently given away to ſome diſtant family, no ways related to the former; this title is ſtill carried on in hiſtory, without inſerting the change of the name: which trifling circumſtance, to mention no other, often creates difficulties and confuſion. A ſingle explanatory word in the margin would obviate the evil.

If we have cauſe, as we undoubtedly have, to lament the darkneſs thorough which we are obliged to pervade in the *Greek* and *Roman* ſtory, how much more have we to regret the want of light in the annals of our own nation? Hiſtory wants every aſſiſtance, be it ever ſo ſmall, that can be afforded to it. Our poſterity indeed will have an advantage which our anceſtors wanted, by the conſtant unwearied publication of a ſet of papers, deſpicable in themſelves, but very uſeful in their conſequences. I would be underſtood to mean, the Magazines, Chronicles, Regiſters, Reviews, and every diffuſive catalogue of that kind. Theſe periodical productions, mixed as they are with abuſe, nonſenſe, and gallimatias of every ſort, will have the honour to be the corner ſtones of thoſe hiſtorical edifices which may be built hereafter; purely becauſe they are at preſent the ſureſt repoſitories of dates and names.

The Earl of *Monmouth* is extremely defective in his dates. In his account of the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, and his own immediate journey into *Scotland*, he gives us barely the days of the week, without mentioning either the month or year; and after the acceſſion of King *James*, he gives us no dates of any kind, unleſs once or twice from his own age, having firſt omitted to tell us the year in which he was born.

That æra is to be gueſſed at; and I know no properer clue to direct us, than by aſcertaining the period of the famous wild *Buckingham*-journey undertaken by the Prince of *Wales* into *Spain*.

His Royal Highneſs ſet out from *Theobalds Febr.* 17th, 1623; the Earl of *Monmouth* was ſent after him in a month's time, and recalled in two or three months more; he ſays he was then near ſixty-three years of age, ſo that the time of his birth muſt either be 1559 or 1560.

He had three children, two ſons and a daughter. His eldeſt ſon, *Henry* Lord *Leppington*, was married in his father's life-time to Lady *Martha Cranfield*, the eldeſt daughter of *Lionel* Earl of *Middleſex*, Lord Treaſurer, and elder ſiſter of Lady *Frances Cranfield*, who married the Earl of *Dorſet*, and was great grandmother to the Author of this Preface.

The ſecond ſon *Thomas* died, I believe, unmarried, at leaſt neither of the ſons left male iſſue. Lord *Leppington* had two ſons, who died before him.

We know in whom and in what manner the male line of the daughter ended. Lady *Philadelphia* married the ſon and heir of Lord *Wharton*, and was great great grandmother of the late extraordinary and excentric Duke of that title.

The Memoirs themſelves are characteriſtics ſufficient of their Author. They are true records of facts, which are either not mentioned, or are miſrepreſented by other hiſtorians. They are written in an unaffected, ſimple, intelligent ſtyle. Veracity is their only ornament; but it is an ornament far beyond all others in hiſtorical anecdotes. They begin about the year 1577, when Don *John* of *Auſtria* came into the *Low Countries*; Mr. *Robert Cary* was at that time only ſeventeen years old. Few political obſervations could be made by ſo young a man;

man: and although he had an opportunity to be perſonally introduced to two eminent Princes, Don *John* of *Auſtria*, and *Francis* Duke of *Anjou*, he only mentions their names, and ſhews his juvenile thoughts to be more turned to tilts and tournaments than to politics and affairs of ſtate.

When afterwards Mr. *Cary* became attached to the Earl of *Eſſex*, and followed his Lordſhip into *France*, we ſee ſomething of the ſoldierly character of that Earl, but much more of the partial inclinations which Queen *Elizabeth* entertained for ſo diſtinguiſhed a favourite. I have put ſuch notes upon thoſe particular paſſages, as leave the leſs room to ſpeak of them here.

The Queen was intuitively a ſagacious Princeſs; and if ſhe had ſome foibles, they neither interrupted the intereſt of her own country, nor broke in upon thoſe meaſures which ſhe ſo ſteadily maintained for the good of *Europe* in general. She had a wonderful method of keeping up her dignity both at home and abroad. At home ſhe threatened particular perſons, and they felt her anger: abroad ſhe threatened kingdoms, and they felt her power. Sir [1] *Robert Cary*, whoſe courage and perſonal reſolution appear indiſputable, trembles when he approaches her: he almoſt trembles when he thinks of her. He had the honour to be her relation: his father was her couſin-german. She created him Lord *Hunſdon* in the firſt year of her reign; but ſhe wiſely declined the leaſt mention of affinity: ſuch a condeſcenſion muſt ſeemingly have debaſed her in her throne. During her whole reign, ſhe took as little remembrance as poſſible either of her father or her mother: a retroſpect of that kind muſt have been ſhocking, when the innocent wife was murdered, and the tyrannical huſband was her murderer.

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[1] He was knighted in the year 1591.

It is certain that Queen *Elizabeth* could not bear the thoughts of a ſucceſſor. The ſpeeches made for her on her death-bed are all forged. *Echard*, *Rapin*, and a long ſtring of hiſtorians, make her ſay faintly (ſo faintly indeed that it could not poſſibly be heard) "I WILL THAT A KING "SUCCEED ME, AND WHO SHOULD "THAT BE BUT MY NEAREST KINSMAN "THE KING OF SCOTS?" A different account of this matter will be found in the following Memoirs. She was ſpeechleſs, and almoſt expiring when the chief Counſellors of ſtate were called into her bedchamber. As ſoon as they were perfectly convinced that ſhe could not utter an articulate word, and ſcarce could hear, or underſtand one, they named the King of *Scots* to her, a liberty they dared not to have taken if ſhe had been able to ſpeak. She put her hand to her head, which was probably at that time in agonizing pain. The Lords, who interpreted her ſigns juſt as they pleaſed, were immediately convinced, that the motion of her hand to her head, was a declaration of *James* VI. as her ſucceſſor. What was this but the unanimous interpretations of perſons who were adoring the riſing ſun?

The Queen dead, Sir *Robert Cary* with equal art and diligence haſtened to *Scotland*, before any other meſſenger could let King *James* know that the crown of *England* was ready to be placed upon his head. The Lords and the other members of the Council were aſſembled, and were preparing to draw up an elaborate addreſs to their new Sovereign, at the very time when Mr. *Cary* ſet out for *Edinborough.* He reached *Holyrood-houſe* on the third day after the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, notwithſtanding a dangerous fall from his horſe, which wounded and retarded him.

The King received the news with ſteadineſs and decency. He had been prepared for it by a [2] letter which Sir *Robert Cary* mentions to have written to him as ſoon as Queen *Elizabeth* was viſibly drawing towards her diſſolution. The annaliſts of that period all think themſelves under a neceſſity of repreſenting ſo important a ſcene very minutely.

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[2] See the Memoirs, p. 139.

Some of them, *Oſborne* in particular, ſays, the King was in amaze, and from thence gives room to his own natural bitterneſs. *Rapin* makes him lift up his eyes in a private ejaculation to heaven. Others deſcribe him as they think fit. The real truth is exactly repreſented by Sir *Robert Cary*, from whoſe letter King *James* had received ſufficient information to gather in his mind a compoſure, which perhaps he ſeldom ſhewed on any other occaſion.

In the mean time the Lord Mayor and Privy Council at *London* were ſo exceſſively alarmed and irritated at Sir *Robert Cary*'s watchfulneſs and expedition, that in their firſt addreſs to the King, they ſeem almoſt as eager to pour forth their indignation againſt Sir *Robert Cary*, as to expreſs their duty and allegiance to their new ſovereign.

Their letter is dated thus---" *Writ-*

"*ten in your Majeſtie's city of London* "*the 24th of March* 1603, *at ten* "*hours of the clock at night.*" They begin their addreſs in a very exalted ſtyle; "Right high, right excellent "and mighty Prince, and our dread "Sovereign Lord." Then after moſt humble expreſſions of loyalty, and a perfect recognition of King *James*'s right, they attack Sir *Robert Cary* with all the marks of jealouſy and reſentment in the following manner.

"Farther we have thought meet "and neceſſary to advertiſe your "Highneſs, that Sir *Robert Cary* this "morning departed from hence towards your Majeſty, not only without the conſent of us who were preſent at *Richmond* at the time of our "late Sovereign's deceaſe, but alſo "contrary to ſuch commandments as "we had power to lay upon him, and "to all decency, good manners and "reſpect, which he owed to ſo many "perſons of our degree; whereby it "may be that your Majeſty hearing, "by a bare report only, of the death of "the late Queen, and not of our care "and diligence in the eſtabliſhment of "your Majeſtie's right here, in ſuch "manner as is above ſpecified, may "conceive doubts of other nature than "(God be thanked) there is cauſe you "ſhould; which we would have clearly prevented, if he had born ſo much "reſpect to us, as to have ſtayed for "a common report of our proceedings, "and had not thought it better to anticipate the ſame: for we would have "been loth that any perſon of quality "ſhould have gone from hence, who "ſhould not, with the report of her "death, have been able to declare the "firſt effect of our aſſured loyalties."

This letter is ſigned firſt by the Lord Mayor, and then by three and thirty Lords and Gentlemen, members of the Council, amongſt whom is *George* Lord *Hunſdon*, elder brother of our Earl of *Monmouth*, who perhaps would not have ſigned ſo harſh and public a repreſentation againſt his own brother, had not that brother made uſe of him as a means to eſcape from *Richmond* when the palace gates were ſhut and ſtrictly guarded, the Queen being juſt expired. The conſequences of that eſcape, and how little Sir *Robert Cary* remembered the poſitive manner in which Lord *Hunſdon* had anſwered for him, will be ſeen in the Memoirs. To ſay the truth, our Author is not to be entirely excuſed in giving up, and in a manner betraying his bail. If ſuch an act admits of any attenuation, Sir *Robert Cary* may claim it from the private information given him by Lord *Banbury*, who was one of the Council, and knew of a ſecret intention to ſend another perſon into *Scotland*, and to detain Sir *Robert Cary* at leaſt till that meſſenger was arrived at *Edinborough.* The intrigues of the court in this important ſeaſon appear various, and buſtling; full of perſons betraying and betrayed. Every courtier, no doubt, wiſhed for wings; Sir *Robert Cary* wiſely got upon a horſe.

All thoſe who ſigned the letter, among whom Lord *Banbury* by the name of *William Knolles* was one, muſt from the tenor of what they had given under their hands, remain the avowed enemies of our Author. The weight and power of ſuch a number of great men, had ſo irreſiſtible an influence over King *James*, that, forgetting all his promiſes, he diſmiſſed Sir *Ro-*

bert Cary from the poſt of Gentleman of the bedchamber. An act which is bitterly and juſtly complained of in theſe Memoirs.

One circumſtance in the foregoing letter muſt be taken notice of. Our Author is there called Sir *Robert Cary*, but when or upon what occaſion he was knighted, does not, I believe, appear from any printed hiſtory, nor from any part of his Memoirs, except one, where ſpeaking of the Earl of *Eſſex* he ſays, [3] "He [Lord *Eſſex*] made all "the haſte he could to *Dieppe. I met* "*him there. As ſoon as he ſaw me,* "*he drew his rapier and came running* "*to me, and laid it on my ſhoulder.*"

It is evident according to *Campden*, that Queen *Elizabeth* gave her Generals a power of conferring knighthood upon whom they thought proper. That author gives us more inſtances of it than one. The firſt, as I remember, is in the year 1570, when *Thomas Ratcliffe* Earl of *Suſſex* was ſent at the head of ſome forces to quell a rebellion upon the borders of *Scotland*. "SUSSEX, ſays [4] Mr. *Campden*, being now "returned, knighted EDWARD HASTINGS, FRANCIS RUSSEL, VALENTINE "BROWN, WILLIAM HILTON, ROBERT "STAPLETON, HENRY CURWEN, and "SIMON MUSGRAVE, for their valour; "and he himſelf afterwards, for his "approved wiſdom and virtue, was "admitted of the Queen's Privy Coun"cil."

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[3] Page 40.

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[4] See Campden's Hiſtory of Queen Elizabeth, book ii. page 149.

Queen *Elizabeth* gave the ſame power of making knights to her Admirals. Accordingly [5] *Campden* tells us, that in the year 1588, after the third ſea fight with the *Spaniſh* Armada, "The next "day the Lord [6] Admiral knighted the "Lord THOMAS HOWARD, the Lord "SHEFFIELD, ROGER TOWNSEND, JOHN "HAWKINS, and MARTIN FORBISTER; "for their valour."

A third example is given by the ſame [7] author of this extraordinary prerogative veſted in PEREGRINE BERTIE Lord *Willoughby*, General of Queen *Elizabeth*'s forces in the *Netherlands*, at the time when the Prince of [8] *Parma* was obliged by the valour of the *Engliſh* to break up the ſiege of *Bergen-op-zome.*

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[5] See idem, book iii. page 414.

[6] Charles Lord Howard of Effingham.

[7] See Campden's Queen Elizabeth, book iii. page 420. anno 1588.

[8] Alexander Farneſe was one of the greateſt Generals

The fourth inſtance is directly to the point in queſtion, and fixes the exact æra [the year 1591] when Sir *Robert Cary* was made a knight. It is inſerted by Mr. *Campden* in theſe words.

" That he [the Earl of *Eſſex*] might
" win the love and affection of his
" army, and heighten their courage,
" he knighted many, not without the
" offence of many others, who had
" been dignified with that honour be-

Generals in the ſixteenth century. An æra productive of remarkable military men. He was made Governor of the Low Countries in the year 1578. If the Spaniſh Armada had been ſucceſsful, he intended to have invaded England with thoſe forces which he afterwards employed againſt Bergen-op-zome.

" fore they came from home; as if he
" had too cheaply proſtituted that
" title, which had hitherto been of ſo
" glorious eſteem among the *Engliſh*,
" and which the Queen had beſtowed
" but very ſparingly, and that only
" upon men of good note and ſpirit." [9]

By the quotations here drawn from *Campden*, it is plain that the royal prerogative of knighting was on ſome occaſions permitted and made over to the great officers of ſtate. Such a grant was in all probability limited and reſtrained. The Queen intended it only as a power to give immediate honours upon extraordinary occaſions, in diſtant countries, and for ſignal acts of bravery and military conduct. Lord *Eſſex*, naturally raſh and precipitate, often uſed this power inconſiderately. He rewarded ſervices that were to be done; the Queen rewarded ſervices that were done: her words, her manner, her very looks were rewards. It is a juſt remark made by our hiſtorians, that ſhe denied a favour with more grace than her ſucceſſor (we may add her two next ſucceſſors) granted it. *Campden*'s aſſertion of Queen *Elizabeth*'s rare and wary diſpoſal of knighthood, has drawn Monſieur *Rapin* into an error. Speaking of her death he ſays, that there was then ſuch a ſcarcity of knights, "Qu'il ne ſe trouvoit "plus aſſez de Chevaliers dans les "provinces pour etre deputez au par-"lement [10]." "That there were not

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[9] See Campden's Queen Elizabeth, book iv. page 449.

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[10] See L'hiſtoire d'Angleterre par Mr. de Rapin Thoyras, vol. 7. liv. 18. p. 6.

“ knights enough to ſerve in parlia-“ ment.” *Tindal*, to correct, or rather to outdo Monſieur *Rapin*, tranſlates the paſſage, “ that ſcarce a county had “ knights enough to make a jury.”

Lord *Eſſex* moſt certainly gave no offence by any honours which he beſtowed on Sir *Robert Cary*, who from the beginning to the end of his life deſerved all thoſe honours which he received. He was early attached to that brave and unfortunate Earl: he was his true friend and faithful ſervant. The total ſilence which may be obſerved in his Memoirs of his noble patron's cataſtrophe, proceeds, it may be preſumed, from duty towards the Queen, whoſe inflexible ſeverity as he could not applaud, he would not preſume to cenſure.

No Prince could come with greater advantages than King *James* I. to the throne. Proteſtants and papiſts allowed his right: the former from a juſt ſyſtem of politics, and a true ſpirit of patriotiſm, becauſe he was the neareſt proteſtant heir to the crown; the latter, becauſe having often declared the right of his mother, they found themſelves obliged to acknowledge the right of her ſon.

Whether King *James* made a proper uſe, or not, of the right inherent in himſelf, and the unanimity collected in his people, is a point neither proper nor neceſſary to be diſcuſſed here. It is certain he began his reign ungracefully. He drove the people from his preſence by proclamation, as they loyally flocked to ſee him: and he hanged up a cutpurſe without any other authority or tryal, but his own will and pleaſure. This laſt action was little murmured at during the aſtoniſhment of joy with which his new ſubjects received him: but it was deeply, though not openly, remembered in the reign of his ſon, when jealouſies aroſe and increaſed to ſuch a height, that they overturned the King, the kingdom, the law, and the goſpel.

In the ſubſequent Memoirs will appear the yielding, timid diſpoſition of King *James* I. a Prince flattered in his life-time to the height of heaven; crammed down ſince his death into the loweſt pit of hell. The extremes of flattery are always ſucceeded by the extremes of obloquy. Extremes of every kind are evidently avoided by Sir *Robert Cary*. He never dips his pen in gall: he tells the truth, and the truth only: he repreſents things as they were, without any ſiniſter turn either on cauſes or effects: he appears open without indiſcretion, plain without meanneſs, ſincere without biaſs, and brave without oſtentation. From his ſhort ſketches of characters (I wiſh they had been more expanded and numerous) we ſee every now and then into the cloſets of the two Princes, *Elizabeth* and *James*, under whom he paſſed the vigour of his days. Queen *Elizabeth* was his chief friend during her lifetime. Her diſcernment and approbation were honours that reflected ſplendour upon him, as great as could ariſe from her royalty and exaltation. In the next reign, the conſort of King *James* (a Princeſs who has undergone a variety of praiſe and cenſure)

ſure) was remarkably firm and zealous in the protection of him. *Henry* Prince of *Wales* looked upon him with a moſt favourable eye; and King *Charles* I. to whom he was many years an immediate ſervant, took an early and public opportunity of raiſing him to the dignity of an *Engliſh* Earl.

With that account he concludes his Memoirs, of which a conſiderable ſhare is taken up in giving a very exact and connected account of thoſe *Oſtrogoths* the Borderers; a ſet of wild men, who from the time when the *Romans* left our iſland, till the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, kept the Southern part of *Scotland* and the Northern part of *England* in a perpetual civil war, and ſeem to have equalled the *Caffres* in the trade of ſtealing, and the *Hotentots* in ignorance and brutality. A deſcription of theſe beaſts in human ſhape is extracted by *Campden* from *Æneas Sylvius*, afterwards Pope *Pius* II. who went into *Scotland* in the year 1448. As the times grew more and more civilized, theſe animals became more and more human; but ſtill retained a great degree of their natural cruelty, all their thirſt of plunder, all their ſtrength, and all the fierceneſs of their courage. Particular Governors, entitled Lord Wardens of the *Eaſt*, *Weſt*, and *Middle Marches*, were conſtantly inſtituted to protect the *Engliſh* territories againſt ſuch barbarians. The *Marches* were ſo denominated, becauſe the inhabitants being in a perpetual ſtate of variance and hoſtility, were always ready to MARCH, either to annoy the enemy, or to defend themſelves. There were *March laws*, and *March courts* of judicature, of which the Lord Warden, or his deputies, were ſupreme judges. Once a year a *March day* was appointed, when the *Scots* and *Engliſh* met, and adjuſted, or attempted to adjuſt, all the diſputes and claims of either nation upon the borders.

Caſtles were kept well garriſoned. Each perſon of any conſiderable eſtate was obliged to provide himſelf with a caſtle, which was generally confirmed to him and his heirs by the crown. Some caſtles were fitted up entirely at the expence of the crown. That at *Norham* was given by Queen *Elizabeth* to Sir *Robert Cary* for the life of himſelf and his two ſons. Some lands were certainly annexed to it, by the price it bore, no leſs than ſix thouſand pounds, when ſold to Lord *Dunbar*.[11]

Strong watches were ſet in every *March* at ſmall diſtances from each other. The inhabitants of the ſmalleſt villages were ſupplied with arms, eſpecially in ſuch places as were moſt liable to invaſions. One good effect aroſe from this ſtate of watchfulneſs and danger. The gentry and the yeomen were rendered vigilant and warlike. Neither luxury, nor her two eldeſt ſons, cowardice and indolence, could eaſily find footing in the *Marches*. Every gentleman was obliged to be an officer: every peaſant was born a ſoldier. The Majors, the Colonels, the Captains of ſuch a militia were really, not nominally, men of arms. Sir *Robert Cary* mentions in general ſome perſons who were averſe to follow him into *Scotland*, imagining that the *Scotch* outlaws muſt be far ſuperior in the force of numbers; they were ſo, but were entirely ſubdued.

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[11] See the Memoirs, p. 162.

The *Marches* long ſince reduced, the caſtles demoliſhed, the debateable lands ſettled, and the two kingdoms united under one Sovereign, make all farther enquiries into their former ſtate unneceſſary. The prudent, the courageous, and the active part which our Author acted during his Wardenſhip, will be found fully delineated in his own Memoirs. His ſituation was nice and perilous. It required a good head and a ſtrong heart to fulfill ſuch a poſt. But when moderation of temper is joined, as in him, with bravery of ſpirit, the greateſt difficulties are certainly, if not eaſily, to be overcome.

The felicities that might have ariſen from the acceſſion of King *James* I. were ſuch as muſt have rendered us the envy and the dread of all foreign nations. After twelve hundred years conteſts with the *North Britons* we became one people, united in the ſame intereſt, and ſubjects to the ſame Sovereign. But theſe are reflections foreign and vague to the Memoirs of Sir *Robert Cary*; yet as the preſent ſituation of times and things unavoidably occur to our thoughts, whenever we read any hiſtorical anecdotes of our anceſtors, I may poſſibly be forgiven in adding farther, that by our intercourſe and conjunction with the *Scots*, we find ourſelves united to a wiſe and a wary nation, whoſe writings are many of them the ornament and illuſtration of this age.

During the whole reign of King *James* I. the Memoirs are entirely perſonal, but not unentertaining; and they are concluded by the coronation of King *Charles* I. I ought now to give an account by what means they came into my hands. They were copied by myſelf from a manuſcript entruſted to me by Lady *Elizabeth Spelman*, daughter to the Earl of *Middleton*, to whom I had the honour of being in ſome degree of affinity. I have moſt religiouſly adhered to the original manuſcript, not having even altered a ſingle letter in the orthography.

The dying ſcene of Queen *Elizabeth* has already been extracted and publiſhed among Sir *Thomas Edmund*'s papers by my very worthy and learned friend Dr. *Birch* in his *Hiſtorical View* from the year 1592 to 1617.

Anecdotes of our *Engliſh* hiſtory have been ever ſought after with great eagerneſs, eſpecially thoſe of Queen *Elizabeth*'s reign. I here offer my mite to be thrown into that treaſury.

MEMOIRS

Of the LIFE of

ROBERT CARY,

Baron of LEPPINGTON,

AND

Earl of MONMOUTH.

O Lord my God, open mine eyes, and enlarge my heart, with a true underſtanding of thy great mercyes, that thou haſt bleſſed mee withall, from my firſt being untill this my old age: and give mee of thy grace to call to minde in ſome meaſure thy great and manifold bleſſings, that thou haſt bleſſed mee withall; though my weakneſſe be ſuch, and my memory ſo ſhort, as I have no abilities to expreſſe them as I ought to do, yet Lord bee pleaſed to accept of this ſacrifice of praiſe and thankeſgiving.

I HAD the happineſſe to be borne of good parents: I was yongeſt of tenne ſonnes; they brought mee up under tutors and governours, to give mee learning and knowledge, but I muſt acknowledge my own weakeneſſe, I had not ability to proffit much thereby. After I attained to the yeares of ſeventeen or thereabouts, Sir *Thomas Layton* was ſent Embaſſadour from the Queene to the States firſt, and then to [1] *Don John de Auſtria*: my father the Lord *Hunſdon*

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[1] Natural ſon of the Emperor Charles V. born at Ratiſbon in 1547, a prince of great prowes in arms, and particularly famous in his conqueſts over the Turks. He had been educated in a private manner in the country during the Emperor's life. The ſplendour of his birth was concealed from him, 'till Philip II. ſon and ſucceſſor of Charles V. in the year 1561, owned him as his natural brother, brought him to court, and in the year 1570, ſent him againſt the Moors. In the year 1575, the King his brother conſtituted him Governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands. After various conqueſts notified in hiſtory, he died October 1, 1578, in the thirty-

[2] *Hunſdon* fitted mee to go the journey with him; wee were abroad almoſt all the winter: after wee had been with the States at *Bruxelles*, wee took leave, and went on our journey towards *Don John*; we found him at *Luxenburgh*: the next day hee removed towards [3] *Namours*, and appointed our Embaſſadour to meet him at *Mons* in *Henault*, which wee did, and there had audience of him: wee ſtay'd but two dayes with him, and took our leaves: after ſome time ſpent, in our returne, at *Bruxelles* with the States,

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thirty-ſecond year of his age, of the plague, or, as adds Thuanus, of grief and vexation on account of ſuſpicions conceived againſt him by Philip II. His funeral obſequies were performed with all the pomp and magnificent ceremonies of thoſe times. He expired in his camp near Namure.

[2] Henry Cary Lord Hunſdon, whoſe pedigree is mentioned in the preface.

[3] Namure.

States, wee retourned to *Dunkrike*, and there took ſhipping for *England*; and in ſhort time came to court, where wee diſperſed, every man as he liked beſt.

Shortly after this [4] *Monſieur* the King of *France*'s brother, came and remained in our court a good time. All the time of his being here, God ſo bleſſed mee with meanes and abilities as I was ever one in every action that our court triumphes then produced: and they were ſuch as the beſt wittes and inventions in thoſe dayes could deviſe to make the court glorious, and to entertaine ſo great a gueſt. This Duke's ſtay here, was from Michaelmaſſe to [5] Chriſtmaſſe; then he went from hence to *Fluſhing*, and from thence to *Antwerpe*, where he was created, by the States, *Duke of Brabant* with great ſolemnitie: My Lord of

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[4] The ſcenes of courtſhip, by letters, viſits, and mediators which paſſed between the Duke d'Alencon, afterwards d'Anjou, and Queen Elizabeth, are ſufficiently known and recorded. He was the youngeſt ſon of Henry II. and Catherine de Medici, and when he became only brother of Henry III. was ſirnamed Monſieur. His father Henry was accidentally killed in a tournament by the Comte de Montgomery. Henry left four ſons, Francis, the huſband of Mary Queen of Scots. Charles, under whom was perpetrated the maſſacre at Paris, diſtinguiſhed by the feaſt of St. Bartholomew.

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tholomew. Alexander, who on the day of his confirmation changed his chriſtian name to Henry, according to the uſage of the church of Rome, and was afterwards ſtabbed by Clement the monk. Hercules, who changed his chriſtian name in the ſame manner to Francis: and who after a long and ſucceſsleſs attempt to marry queen Elizabeth, and various turbulent adventures in the Netherlands, died June 10, 1584, not without ſome ſuſpicions of being poiſoned at Chateau Thierry in France.

[5] Anno 1581.

of *Nottingham* as Admiral, my Lord of *Suſſex* Chamberlaine of the Queene's houſehold, and my father being Governour of *Berwick*, were ſent to convoy him over in three of the Queene's beſt ſhippes. They brought him to *Antwerpe*, and after the Duke was ſettled in his government, they tooke their leaves, and came for *England*. My father left me there behind him to ſtay ſome time with [6] Sir *John Norrice*, who then was in *Antwerpe*: and thence he appointed mee to travaile into *France*, and there to ſtay for a time untill he ſhould ſend for mee back. I ſtay'd at *Antwerpe* from Shrovetide untill Eaſter; then I tooke my journey from thence into *France*, and made no ſtay 'till I came to *Paris*, and there I ſtay'd nine months: then upon an accident of ſome fear in *England*, that Engliſhmen ſhould be ill dealt with in *France*, my father ſent for mee in all haſt, to come away with all the ſpeed I could for *England*: though very unwillingly, I obeyed, and came home about Chriſtmaſſe.

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[6] He was ſecond ſon of Henry Lord Norrice. He was, ſays Campden, a man who deſerved the utmoſt that fame could ſay, or his country could do for him. See Campden's life of queen Elizabeth.

The ſummer after [7], I went with Mr. Secretary *Walſingham* into *Scotland*, he being ſent thither [8] Embaſſadour from her Majeſtie; it pleaſed the King at that time to take ſuch a liking of mee, as he wrote earneſtly to the

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[7] Anno 1583.

[8] To give advice to King James VI. A remarkable embaſſy, in which the ſubtle Walſingham effectually diſcovered the temper and diſpoſition of that King.

the Queene at our return to give mee leave to come back to him again, to attend on him at his court, aſſuring her Majeſtie I ſhould not repent my attendance.

Her majeſtie gave her conſent; I went to *Berwick* with my father a while after with full reſolution to go to him, being well provided of men, money, apparrell, and horſes: but my father was no ſooner come to *Berwick*, and I ready to take my journey to the King, but a [9] countermand was ſent to my father from the Queene, ſtreightly charging him to ſtay mee, and not to ſuffer me to go into *Scotland* to the King.

My journey being thus ſtayed, I retourned ſhortly after, with my father, to the court. The beginning of the ſpring after [10] *Sluce* was beſeiged, and my Lord of *Eſſex* ſtole from court with intent to get into *Sluce*, if he could: the queene ſent me after him, commanding mee to uſe the beſt means if I could find him, to perſuade him to retourne to court. I made no long ſtay, but with all the ſpeed I could, went after him; I found him at *Sandwich*, and with much ado I got him to retourne: as we were riding poſt back, I ſtayed a little behinde him, and when hee was out of ſight, I retourned to *Sandwich*. I left my Lord of [11] *Cumberland* there, who had provided a ſmall barke; and wee made all the haſte we could towards *Sluce.* When wee came right over *Oſtend,* the water was ſo ſhallow wee could not get in with our barke, wee took our ſhip-boate, and rowed towards *Oſtend*: wee were no ſooner come neere the ſhore, but wee were told that *Sluce* was yielded to the enemy that day: notwithſtanding wee went aſhore to *Oſtend,* where I found my brother *Edmund* a captain of the towne. Wee were no ſooner come to our lodging, but it was told us for certaine that the enemy was fully reſolved to beſiege *Oſtend* with the greateſt expedition that they could. The next morning my Lord of *Cumberland,* ſeeing our hopes fruſtrate by the towne's yielding, reſolved to go to his barke againe, and from *Fluſhing* to go to [12] *Bergen-op-Soame* to ſee my Lord of *Leiceſter*, and then to retourne home againe, thinking that I would go with him: but I was reſolved of another way, and told him that it was for certaine reported that the enemy would ſhortly beſiege the towne, that I had a brother there, whom I could not leave; but meant to be partner with him both in good and ill. We took leave; he to his barke, and I to ſtay with my brother. The report increaſed daily more and more of the enemy's approach: within two or three days after my Lord

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[9] The Queen's jealouſy of the King of Scotts, and of all thoſe whom he countenanced, appears by this countermand.

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[10] Sluys, called in French l'Ecluſe, in Latin Clauſiæ. A town and ſea port of Flanders, which underwent many ſieges, and ſubmitted to a variety of maſters during the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries.

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[11] George Clifford Earl of Cumberland.

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[12] Bergen-op-Zome, is a fortified town of Brabant, ſituated near the Eaſtern ſhore of the river Scheld, particularly known to the preſent times by the ſiege of it in the year 1747.

of [13] *Nottingham*, that was our Admirall, came to us with proviſion of munition and victuals, and left with us Sir *William Read* to be commander of the towne. After he had ſtay'd two or three dayes with us, he took ſhip againe, and went for *England*. Wee ſtay'd there ſome fortnight. At laſt letters came to us from my Lord of *Leiceſter*, that the towne that year was free from any ſiege, and commanded that ſixe of the companyes that were there ſhould embarke themſelves with all ſpeed, and come to him to *Bergen-op-Soame*. We came the next day; (for my brother's company being one of thoſe were appointed to go, I went with him.) I ſtayed there moſt part of the ſummer: many things in that time were attempted, nothing of worth performed. I, finding no hope of any good action to be performed, towards Michaelmaſſe retourned for *England*, and found by that little experience, THAT A BRAVE WARRE AND A POORE SPIRIT IN A COMMANDER NEVER AGREE WELL TOGETHER[14].

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[13] Charles Howard Earl of Nottingham, remarkable for courage, conduct, fidelity, ſplendour, and every branch of worth and honour, ſupported by great abilities, thorough a long and proſperous life of eighty-eight years.

The next year (which was 1586) was the Queene of *Scottes*' beheading. I lived in court, had ſmall meanes of my friends: yet God ſo bleſſed mee that I was ever able to keep company with the beſt: in all triumphes I was one; either at tilt, tourney, or barriers in maſke or balles: I kept men and horſes farre above my ranke, and ſo continued a long time. At which time (few or none in the court being willing to undertake that journey) her Majeſtie ſent me to the King of *Scottes*, to make known her innocence of her ſiſter's death, with letters of credence from herſelf to aſſure all that I ſhould affirm [15].

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[14] This obſervation ſeems to be levelled at Robert Dudley Earl of Leiceſter, the undeſerved and worthleſs favourite of our renowned Queen. He was treacherous to Lady Jane Grey, abject to Queen Mary, and ungrateful to Queen Elizabeth.

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[15] Reaſons of ſtate, and the impoſſibility that two ſuns ſhould ſhine in one hemiſphere, might induce Queen Elizabeth to put an end to the miſerable life of Mary Queen of Scots; but her affectation of mourning, her letters, her embaſſys, her excuſes, her treatment of Daviſon, and her whole behaviour in regard to her own act and deed, are black ſpots appearing too plainly amidſt the remarkable ſplendour of her ſhining reign.

I was way-lay'd in *Scotland*, if I had gone in, to have been murthered: but the King's Majeſtie, knowing the diſpoſition of his people, and the fury they were in, ſent to mee to *Berwick*, to let mee know that no power of his could warrant my life at that time; therefore to prevent further miſchiefe, he would ſend mee no convoy, but would ſend two of his counſaile to the bound-rode, to receive my letters, or what other meſſage I had to deliver [16]. I had reaſon to give his Majeſtie thankes, and ſo I did; and ſent him word I would with all ſpeed advertiſe her Majeſtie of the gracious care hee had of mee; and as I ſhould be directed, I would informe his Majeſtie. I was commanded to accept of the King's offer. [17] Sir *George Hume*, and the maſter of *Melven*, met mee at the bound-rode, where I delivered my meſſage in writing, and my letters from the Queene to the King; and then came preſently (poſt) to court, where I had thankes of her Majeſtie for what I had done.

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[16] During theſe gracious private meſſages ſent to Mr. Robert Cary at Berwick, James VI. breathed forth at Edinburgh open threatenings of reſentment, and thundering declarations of revenge, all which were breath only. Vox et præterea nihil.

The next year (1587) I was ſent Embaſſadour again to the King of *Scottes*. When I came to *Berwick*, I ſent for a ſafe conduct. I had word from the King, he was going a journey towards *Lough-mable* to ſuppreſſe ſome rebels that held that caſtle againſt him, and therefore deſired mee to make what haſte I could to *Carleil*, and from thence I ſhould come to him to *Domfreeſe*, and there he would warrant my ſafe coming and my ſafe retourne. I did as I was directed, and came to *Domfreeſe*, where I was by his Majeſtie nobly entertained; and ſtay'd with him there ſome fourteene dayes, and then tooke my leave, and came for *England*: and by the way I ſent to the King from *Carleil* two pieces of ordinance, with bullets, powder, and all things neceſſary, by which means he recovered his caſtle. But *Robert Maxfield* that held the caſtle againſt him, made an eſcape, and gott to ſea, and ſo prevented the King's juſtice for that time. I retourned to court, where the Queene and Counſaile allowed very well of what I had done; and ſo I ended that journey.

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[17] Maſter of the wardrobe to James VI.

The next yeare (1588) the King of *Spain*'s great *Armado* came upon our coaſt, thinking to devour us all. Upon the newes ſent to court from *Plimouth* of their certain arrivall, my Lord *Cumberland* and myſelfe tooke poſt horſe, and rode ſtreight to *Portſmouth*, where we found a frigot that carried us to ſea; and having ſought for the fleets a whole day, the night after wee fell amongſt them: where it was our fortune to light firſt on the *Spaniſh* fleet; and finding ourſelves in the wrong, we tackt about, and in ſhort time gott to our own fleet, which was not farre from the other. At our coming aboord our Admirall, wee ſtay'd there awhile; but finding the ſhip much peſtered, and ſcant of cabbins, we left the Admirall, and went aboord Captain *Reyman*, where wee ſtay'd, and were very welcome, and much made of. It was on Thurſday that wee came to the fleete. All that day wee followed cloſe the *Spaniſh Armado*, and nothing was attempted on either ſide: the ſame courſe wee held all Friday and Saturday, by which time the *Spaniſh* fleet caſt anchor juſt before *Calais*. We likewiſe did the ſame, a very ſmall diſtance behind them, and ſo continued till Munday morning about two of the clocke; in which time our Counſaile of warre had provided ſix old hulkes, and ſtuffed them full of all combuſtible matter fitt for burning, and on Munday at two in the morning they were lett looſe, with each of them a man in her to direct them. The tide ſerving they brought them very near the *Spaniſh* fleet, ſo that they could not miſſe to come amongſt the mideſt of them: then they ſet fire on them, and came off themſelves, having each of them a little boate to bring him off.

The ſhips ſet on fire, came ſo directly to the *Spaniſh* fleet, as they had no way to avoid them, but to cut all their halſers, and ſo eſcape; and their haſte was ſuch that they left one of their four great galeaſſes on ground before *Calais*, which our men took and had the ſpoil of, where many of the *Spaniards* were ſlaine with the Governour thereof, but moſt of them were ſaved with wading aſhore to *Calais*. They being in this diſorder, wee made ready to follow them, where began a cruell fight, and wee had ſuch advantage both of wind and tide, as wee had a glorious day of them; continuing fight from foure o'clocke in the morning, till almoſt five or ſix at night, where they loſt a douzen or fourteene of their beſt ſhippes, ſome ſunke, and the reſt ranne aſhore in diverſe parts to keep themſelves from ſinking. After God had given us this great victory, they made all the haſt they could away, and wee followed them Tueſday and Wedneſday, by which time they were gotten as farre as *Flamborough-head*. It was reſolved on Wedneſday at night, that by four o'clocke on Thurſday, wee ſhould have a new fight with them for a farewell; but by two in the morning, there was a flagge of Counſaile hung out in our Vice Admirall, when it was found that in the whole fleet there was not munition ſufficient to make halfe a fight; and therefore it was there concluded that we ſhould let them paſſe, and our fleet to return to the *Downes*. That night wee parted with them, wee had a mighty ſtorme. Our fleet caſt anchor, and endured it: but the *Spaniſh* fleet, wanting their anchors, were many of them caſt aſhore on the weſt of *Ireland*, where they had all their throates cutt by the [18] *Kernes*; and ſome of them on *Scotland*, where they were no better uſed: and the reſt (with much adoe) gott into *Spaine* againe. Thus did God bleſſe us, and gave victory over this invincible navy; the ſea calmed, and all our ſhippes came to the *Downes* on Friday in ſafety.

On Saturday my Lord of *Cumberland* and myſelfe came on ſhore, and took poſt horſe, and found the Queene in her army at *Tilbury* campe, where I fell ſick of a burning fever, and was carried in a litter to *London*. I ſhould have been then ſent Embaſſadour to the King of *Scottes*, but could not by reaſon of my ſickneſſe.

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[18] Iriſh foot ſoldiers.

The next yeare (which was 1589) was the [19] JOURNEY OF PORTUGALL, where my Lord of [20] *Eſſex* ſtole from court to go that journey, and left mee

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[19] What is here called the JOURNEY OF PORTUGAL, was an expedition undertaken by Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake, almoſt entirely at their own expence, againſt Spain and Portugal: chiefly againſt the latter. The Queen was frugal, ſhe only found ſix ſhips of war, and permitted ſoldiers and ſailors to be raiſed for the expedition. Stowe, I think, ſays, ſhe gave ſixty thouſand pounds in money towards the undertaking. The ſucceſs was not equal to the deſign; but the bravery and ſpirit with which the enterprize was carried on, will remain a perpetual honour to the Engliſh nation.

[20] Robert Devereux, Earl of Eſſex, omitted no opportunity of ſhewing his courage, activity, and magnificence. His part in this expedition was not only carried on without the Queen's knowledge and conſent, but at his own expence. Throughout his whole life his conduct appears ſuch, as to extort at once from all who have conſidered his character, the higheſt degree of admiration, pity, cenſure, and eſteem.

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behind him, which did ſo much trouble mee, that I had no minde to ſtay in the court; but having given out ſome money to go on foot in twelve days to [21] *Berwick*, I performed it that ſummer, which was worth to mee two thouſand pounds, which bettered mee to live at court a good while after [22].

The next journey I undertooke was into *France* with my Lord of *Eſſex*. I was a Captain of one hundred and fifty men. This journey was very chargeable to mee, for I carried with mee a waggon with five horſes to draw it, I carried five [23] GREAT horſes over with mee, and one little ambling nagge, and I kept a table all the while I was there that coſt me thirty pounds a weeke, which was from Midſummer to almoſt Chriſtmaſſe; and yet God ſo bleſſed mee that I never wanted, but Hee ſtill ſent me means to ſupply my wants.

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[21] In the county of Northumberland, on the river Tweede, three hundred miles north of London.

[22] The ſpirit of laying wagers ſubſiſted with our anceſtors as thoroughly, if not as extravagantly, as with us their gayer and leſs formal deſcendants. Monſieur de Voltaire is right in his aſſertion, where he ſays, LE COMTE DE STAIRS PARIA, SELON LE GENIE DE SA NATION.

My Lord [of *Eſſex*] had over with him two hundred horſe, and foure thouſand foote, beſides voluntaryes which were many. After that my Lord had ſtayed at [24] *Arques* [25] BESIDE *Deep* ſome three weeks, or more, and had commodiouſly lodged his army, he made a journey to *Noyon*, and paſſed ſtill through the enemies country, without any let or interruption, and tooke only his two hundred horſe for his guard. In three long dayes journey wee came to the King to [26] *Noyon*. There my Lord ſtay'd with the King four days, and then returned towards *Arques* again: but in the retourne wee might ſee many troopes of horſe of the enemies approaching very neere us, but they never durſt ſet upon us, ſo that we came in ſafety to [27] *Giſors*, a garriſon towne of the

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[23] By GREAT horſes are meant, dreſſed, or managed horſes.

[24] A city in Normandy, diſtant about a league and a half from Diepe.

[25] BESIDE Deep, ſignifies near or on the ſide of Diepe. A port town in Normandy.

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[26] A town in Picardy upon the river Oiſa. The ancient Noviodunum, mentioned by Cæſar, as a fortification difficult to be taken. It is the birth place of Calvin, who was born there in the year 1509.

[27] A town in Normandy, which owes it's original to a caſtle built there in the year 1097, by William II. [Rufus] King of England and Duke of Normandy.

King's. The next day wee were to go to *Arques*, the way that wee came. Our carriages were loaden, and gon out of the ports of the towne, and my Lord and his company were on horſeback ready to follow; but there came a *French* gentleman in good time to the towne, and ſtayed our carriages, and came in great haſt to my Lord, and deſired to ſpeak with him in private: my Lord alighted, and went into his lodging with him, and moſt of the company ſtayed on horſeback expecting his retourne. When the Frenchman and my Lord were together, he diſcovered to my Lord that he was betrayed by the Governour of the [28] towne, and that by his intelligence [29] *Monſieur Villiers* with above two thouſand foote, and five hundred horſe, were layed in a great wood, ſome three miles off o' the towne which we were to paſſe through, to cutt us all in pieces. This being made known to my Lord, ſome few of my Lord's friends were called to Counſaile, and preſently it was reſolved that we ſhould make no ſtay there, but tourne our courſe towards [30] *Pont-large*, ſo we marched a cleane contrary way to that we ſhould have done, and ſome nine miles off of the towne, wee put over the river *Seine*, and lay on the other ſide of the river in the open field all that night. The next day we got betimes to *Pont-large*, where by the Governour of the towne, my Lord and all his troopes were very well entertained. By this means God ſo bleſſed us that we eſcap'd this imminent danger. Being all ſafe at *Pont-large*, my Lord ſent to *Arques* for all his foote to come to him, which came in five or ſix dayes. After they had reſted awhile, he tooke leave of the

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[28] Of Arques,

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[29] The perſon mentioned here, is Andrè de Brancas, Seigneur de Villars, one of the principal chiefs of the league. VILLARS EST CELUY (ſays a French hiſtorian) QUI DEFENDIT ROÜEN CONTRE HENRY IV. 1592, AVEC TOUTE LA BRAVOURE ET TOUTE LA CONDUITE POSSIBLE. The ambuſh, though unſucceſsful, was critically intended. Monſieur de Villars appears to have been a man of bravery in the field, of judgement in the cabinet, and of conduct in both. He died Admiral of France in the year 1595. The family was originally Neapolitan, their name Brancacio.

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[30] Pont de l'Arche, a town in Normandy, upon the Seine. This town ſtands three leagues above Roan, and was the firſt place that ſurrendered to King Henry IV. upon his coming to the crown.

Governour, and marched by ſmall journeys towards *Arques* (for then wee feared no encounter of any enemy.) The ſecond night wee lodged at a great village-towne called [31] *Pavillie*, where finding great ſtore of victuall, and all things neceſſary for the relief of the ſouldiers, it was reſolved that we ſhould ſtay there four or five dayes. In which time, to ſhew *Villiers* how little we eſteemed him and his forces, in a morning betimes both foote and horſe marched ſome five miles off, onely in a bravado, to ſee whether *Villiers*, or any of his troopes in the towne durſt come out and ſkirmiſh with us [32]: but there unfortunately we loſt [33] Mr. *Walter Devereux*, my Lord's only brother, with a ſhott in the head, and ſo wee retourned that night to *Pavillie*, the whole army being full of ſorrow for the loſſe of ſo worthy a gentleman.

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[31] Pavilli, a town in Normandy, four leagues from Roan.

[32] The bravery of theſe times was even wanton and unneceſſary.

The next night after, the towne fell on fire, and in leſſe than an hour it was all burnt to the ground, ſo that wee had much adoe to gett our troopes and carriages ſafe out of the towne.

In four days after wee came to *Arques*, where our horſe and foote reſted a good ſpace and refreſhed themſelves, till it was reſolved that my Lord and his troopes only ſhould go to beſeige

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[33] Second ſon of Walter Devereux, the firſt Earl of Eſſex, who in the year 1573, had leave from Queen Elizabeth to go into Ireland to conquer the Barony of Clandeboy at his own expence.

Gornye,

[34] *Gornye*, which was ſome fortnight after. We had not ſtayed long at *Arques*, but the whole army removed from thence towards *Gornye* to beſeige the towne. Wee lay before it ſome ten dayes, in which time there came letters out of *England* to my Lord of *Eſſex*, to command him preſently to repaire for *England*, and to leave his charge with Sir *Thomas Layton*. He preſently diſpatched Sir *Thomas Darcy* to deſire longer ſtay; and to let the Queene know that the [35] King intended ſhortly to beſeige *Roan*, and what a diſhonour it would be for ever to him, if he ſhould leave him at ſuch a time. Here Col. *Cromwell* left the

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[34] Gournay, a large city in Normandy, ſituated upon the river Eptè, ten leagues from Roan.

[35] Henry IV.

campe, and went for *England*, having ſuch urgent occaſions of buſineſſe that he could ſtay no longer. My Lord of *Eſſex* upon his departure gave me his regiment, and I made choice of my Lord of *Valentia* to be my Lieutenant Colonell of my regiment, and gave my Captainſhip to Sir *Francis Rich*, who was Lieutenant of my company before. After we had battered the towne, and made a breach, in a morning betimes wee were ready to give an aſſault; but the chief commanders of the towne, fearing their own weakeneſſe, held out a white flagge to parley, and upon conference it was agreed, that the commanders and ſoldiers ſhould in ſafety paſſe out of the towne, and that the towne ſhould be delivered to my Lord for the King's uſe. All which was performed that morning before twelve of the clock.

From this towne my Lord ſent mee to court with the news of the yielding of the towne, and the manner of it. I made what haſte I could to get over from *Deepe*, and within four dayes after I left my Lord, I arrived at *Oatlands* betimes in the morning. Before I came Sir *Thomas Darcy* was ſent back with a ſtreight commaund for my Lord to retourne, as he would anſwer it at his utmoſt perill, with commiſſion for Sir *Thomas Layton* to execute the place. I ſpake with moſt of the Counſaile before the Queene was ſtirring, who aſſured mee that there was no removeing of her Majeſtie from her reſolution, and adviſed mee to take heed that I gave her no cauſe to be offended with mee, by perſwading her for his ſtay, which they aſſured mee would do no good, but rather hurt. About ten of the clocke ſhe ſent for mee. I delivered her my Lord's letter. She preſently burſt out into a great rage againſt my Lord, and vowed ſhe would make him an example to all the world, if he preſently left not his charge, and retourned upon Sir *Francis Darcy*'s coming to him. I ſaid nothing to her till ſhe had read his letter. She ſeemed to bee meanely well contented with the ſucceſſe at *Gornye*, and then I ſaid to her,

" Madam, I know my Lord's care
" is ſuch to obey all your commands,
" as he will not make one hour's ſtay
" after Sir *Francis* hath delivered him
" his fatall doome; but, Madam,
" give me leave to let your Majeſtie
" know before hand, what you ſhall
" truely find at his retourne, after he
" hath had the happineſſe to ſee you,
" and kiſſe your hand. Hee doth ſo
" ſenſibly feele his diſgrace, and how-

" ever you thinke it reaſon for this " you have done, yet the world " abroad who know not the cauſe of " his ſo ſodaine leaving his army to " another, will eſteem it a weakneſſe " in him, and a baſe cowardlineſſe " in him to leave the army, now, " when hee ſhould meete the King " and his whole army for the beſeiging of *Roan*. You will be deceived, Madam, if you think he will " ever after this have to do with " court or ſtate affaires. I know his " full reſolution is to retire to ſome " cell in the countrey, and to live " there, as a man never deſireous to " looke a good man in the face " againe. And in good faith, Madam, to deal truely with your Majeſtie, I thinke you will not have " him a long liv'd man after his retourne. The late loſſe of his bro-

" ther, whom he loved ſo dearly, and " this heavy doome that you have " layd upon him, will in a ſhort time " breake his heart. Then your Ma- " jeſtie will have ſufficient ſatisfaction " for the offence he hath committed " againſt you."

She ſeemed to be ſomething offended at my diſcourſe, and bade me go to dinner. I deſired her that if ſhe pleaſed to command mee any ſervice, I might know her pleaſure in the afternoone, for I meant with all the haſte I could make to retourne to my charge. I had ſcarce made an end of my dinner, but I was ſent for to come to her againe. She delivered me a letter, written with her own [36] hand to my Lord, and

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[36] This is as ſtrong an inſtance as poſſible of the Queen's affection to Lord Eſſex. It is

and bade mee tell him, that "if there "were any thing in it that did pleaſe "him, he ſhould give mee thankes "for it." I humbly kiſs'd her hand, and ſaid to her, "I hoped there was "in it that which would make him "of the moſt dejected man living, a "new creature, rejoicing in nothing "ſo much as that he had to ſerve ſo "worthy and ſo gracious a miſtreſſe."

After I had with all due reſpects taken my leave of her, I made no long ſtay, but that afternoon I tooke poſt horſe, and made for *France*. Thus God bleſſed mee in this journey, that through my poore weakeneſſe I

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is evident her own heart, not the diſcourſe of Mr. Cary, although proper and judicious, extorted from her that letter. She ſatisfied herſelf with the pleaſure of writing to him, when his glory deferred the pleaſure of her ſeeing him.

procured that from her which all my Lord's friends in court, nor all her Counſaile could procure.

I made all the haſt I could, but came too late, for that tide that I came to the haven to *Deepe*, my Lord having received her ſtreight command from Sir *Francis Darcy*, reſigned his charge to Sir *Thomas Layton*, and put himſelfe into a little ſkiffe in *Deepe*, and made all the haſte he could for *England*. When I came to *Deepe*, they all wondered that I miſs'd him, for they told mee it was not two hours ſince he ſet ſaile from thence. Miſſing him I went to my charge at *Arques*, and there ſtayed till my Lord's retourne. At my Lord's coming to court, whereas he expected nothing but her Majeſtie's heavy diſpleaſure, he found it cleane contrary, for ſhe uſed him with that grace and favour, that he ſtayed a week with her, paſſing the time in jollity and feaſting; and then with teares in her eyes, ſhe ſhewed her affection to him, and for the repaire of his honour gave him leave to retourne to his charge againe [37].

Hee made all the haſte hee could to *Deepe.* I mett him there. As ſoon as he ſaw me HE DREW HIS RAPIER, AND CAME RUNNING TO ME, AND LAID IT ON MY SHOULDER [38], and ſtreightly embraced mee, and ſaid to mee, when he had need of one to plead for him, he would never uſe any other oratour than myſelfe. I delivered him the Queen's letter, then he ſaid, "Worthy couſin, I know "by herſelfe how you prevailed with "her, and what a true friend I had "of you, which I ſhall never for-"gett."

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[37] The Queen was naturally of a gay mirthfull temper. She could aſſume, indeed, all diſpoſitions; but in this account of her gracious reception of Eſſex, and her apparent diſturbance of mind in taking leave of him, ſhe was certainly ſincere.

[38] See the Preface.

The next day my Lord went to *Arques*, and there we ſtay'd till wee tooke our journey to [39] *Roan*. In ſhort time after my Lord coming to his army at *Arques* (where there was no ſmall joy for his Lordſhip's ſafe re-tourne) he received from the King his reſolution what day and time he [Henry IV.] meant to beſeidge the city of *Roan* with his whole army both horſe and foote; and deſired my Lord to fitt himſelf and his troops at the time appointed, which hee ſlackt not to performe with all care and diligence.

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[39] Roan is one of the largeſt and moſt opulent cities in France. It is the capital of Normandy, in which the Dukes of Normandy kept their courts. It is ſurrounded by mountains. Anthony de Bourbon King of Navarre, father of Henry IV. was killed near the gate of St. Hilary, when Roan was beſieged in the year 1562 by Charles IX. whoſe troops the King of Navarre commanded.

My Lord's quarter was allotted to be at mount [40] *Malade*, the town lying under us not full a quarter of an *Engliſh* Mile. The King with his horſe and foote, tooke for his quarter the towne of [41] *Daringtall.* Between the King and my Lord lay the *Switzers,*

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[40] Mont aux Malades. This place is a ſmall village upon one of the hills which ſurround Roan. It is to be ſeen in all the maps of Normandy. It lies north weſt of Roan.

[41] Darnetal, is another ſmall village upon the north eaſt ſide of Roan, much at the ſame diſtance from the city.

zers, upon another hill. Upon the right hand of my Lord lay [42] *Montmorancie*, cloſe to the towne on low ground; the reſt of the King's army, as well on the ſide wee lay on, as on the other ſide of the water, were diſperſed in diverſe partes. *Monſieur de* [43] *Roulet* (Governour of *Pont-large*) with his troopes, were lodged on the other ſide of the water. The reſt of the commanders and the names of the places they lay in, I do not well remember, but ſure I am, my Lord came to his quarter by five a clocke in the morning, and the whole towne was roundly beſeig'd before eleven of the clocke. But *Villiers* Governour of *Roan*, did that day ſhew himſelfe to be a brave ſoldier, and a great [44] commander. He brought out his troopes both of horſe and foote, and there was not a quarter in the whole army but what was bravely aſſaulted and fought withall by them that day. The King's quarter was not exempted; but they did ſo furiouſly aſſault *Montmorancie*'s quarter, that had not my

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[42] Charles de Montmorenci Seigneur de Meru, third ſon of the great Conſtable Ann Duke of Montmorenci. He ſignalized his bravery in a very exemplary manner throughout all the battles and ſieges that were carried on during the league. He was made Admiral of France by Henry IV. in the year 1596. The illuſtrious race of Montmorenci have produced more great men than any other family in France.

[43] Monſieur de Roulet was one of the earlieſt who upon the death of Henry III. flew to the ſtandard of Henry IV. He delivered up the keys of Pont de l'Arche to the King, demanding no other recompence than the honour of ſerving his Majeſty. He was, ſays Perefix, a man of parts and of bravery. HOMME DE COEUR ET D'ESPRIT.

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[44] This confirms again the military character of Monſieur de Villars.

Lord of *Eſſex* ſent his horſe to relieve him, he had been driven out of his quarter with great diſhonour. Towards three in the afternoon they had ſhowne their worth and valour in all other places. They came up towards my Lord's quarters. We were ready to entertain them, and wee held ſkirmiſh at the leaſt two hours, and after ſome killed and hurt on both ſides, they fairly retired into the towne, and we to our lodging; and ſo ended that day's ſport.

Diverſe days after, they made ſalleys out of the towne, and gave attempts to diverſe quarters, which wee that lay on high had the pleaſure to behold, but they never attempted any thing againſt us but the firſt day. They had a ſpleene to no quarter ſo much as to *Montmorancie*'s. The reaſon was for that he had begg'd of the King the gouverment of the towne, if it had beene taken either by agreement or by aſſault.

We lay long there and to little purpoſe; for though the towne walles were weake, and of no force to endure a battery, which my Lord would faine have beene at, and offered the King that hee and his troopes ſhould be the firſt that ſhould enter, if he would make a breach (which four canons would ſoon have done) it would not be hearkened unto; old [45] *Byron* thinking it better by continuing the ſiedge, for want of victualls to make them come to compoſition, then to hazard the wealth of the towne to the ſpoile of the ſouldiers, if it ſhould be won by aſſault.

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[45] Armand de Gontaut Seigneur de Biron. One of the Marſhalls of France. A brave ſoldier, an able negotiator, and acknowledged favourite of three ſucceeding princes, Charles IX. Henry III. and Henry IV. His age and experience gave him great weight with Henry IV. who although neither influenced by favourites, nor miniſters, liſtened attentively to his councils. Hiſtorians ſeem to think that Biron's purpoſes were not always diſintereſted and upright.

All our attempts were againſt St. *Katherine*'s. There wee wrought in trenches ſo neere them, as we came to lye in their counterſcarſe, and had often conference with them in the fort. One night there were ſcaling ladders

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He is here called OLD Biron to diſtinguiſh him from his eldeſt ſon Charles de Gontaut premier Marêchal de Biron, who made ſo conſiderable a figure at this ſiege, that the King at his return to Paris pointed him out [AUX ECHEVINS] to the magiſtrates of that city, with this expreſſion, MESSIEURS, VOICI UN GRAND GENERAL. JE LE PRESENTE A MES AMIS ET A MES ENEMIS. "Gentlemen, here you ſee a great General. I "preſent him to my friends and my to enemies."

prepared, and wee had hope to winne it by ſcalado. My Lord was there with the chiefe gentlemen of his army. Wee were all commanded to weare ſhirtes above the [46] armour (I loſt many ſhirtes that I lent that night) this was done accordingly. When all things were prepared and ready, wee marched forwards, and the firſt that came to ſet up the ladders found them (at leaſt) two yards too ſhort; ſo wee were forced to retire with ſhame enough, the fort playing upon us in our coming on, and in our coming off, but there was little hurt done by reaſon of the darkneſſe of the night.

One day my Lord and his beſt friends being at the head of the French prattling to thoſe in the fort, wee had been all cutt in pieces had not the worth and valour of Sir *Ferdinando George* prevented it by God's aſſiſtance. For he having charge of the trenches that day, and a *Corps de Guard* of *Engliſh* ſoldiers by him, it was God's will that he, looking through a loope hole, eſpied twenty five or thirty armed men with halberds ſallying out of the fort, who meant to come upon us on a ſodaine by a by-way that they had, and to cutt all our throates: but he on a ſodaine (ſeeing the preſent danger) by commanding a dozen or fourteen of his beſt ſouldiers whom he truſted moſt to follow him in his doublet and hoſe, and his rapier by his ſide, leapt over the trenches, the reſt bravely following him, and with all ſpeede came upon them that were coming to this execution. They ſeeing this deſperate reſolution (whether they thought they had been betrayed, or what elſe I know not) retired into the fort with all ſpeede back againe, and he came bravely off with all his followers without any hurt, though they had many ſhott made at them in their going on and coming off from the rampiers. Thus by God's help, and this man's brave reſolution, my Lord and all that were with him eſcaped this eminent danger.

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[46] To diſtinguiſh them from the enemy.

All the attempts wee made were only againſt the fort, my Lord ſtill urging the King to batter ſome part of the town, but it would never be yielded to. Thus we ſpent a long time to little purpoſe, from Michaelmaſſe to almoſt Chriſtmaſſe, when the Duke of *Parma* came with an army to relieve the towne, and did effect it.

The King was forced to raiſe his ſiedge with ſhame enough, and to retire [47]: at which time the winter coming on my Lord left his army with Sir [48] *Roger Williams*, Sir *Thomas Baſkervile*, and other commanders, tooke his leave of the King, and came for *England*.

I retourned with my Lord, and left my regiment with Sir *Henry Poore* (now Viſcount [49] *Valentia*) and ſome fortnight

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[47] So brave a Prince could never be covered with ſhame. His own courage muſt have maintained his perſonal character. His fortitude muſt have defended him from dejection. Wherever he came, wherever he fought, he appeared a hero. The ſucceſs of his heroiſm depended upon heaven.

[48] Sir Roger Williams had been ſent over by Queen Elizabeth with ſix hundred men under his command to aſſiſt Henry IV. who afterwards requeſted four thouſand more, which were ſent to him under the command of the Earl of Eſſex. Both theſe ſuccours were granted in 1591.

[49] The family of Power is extinct. The Earls of Angleſey poſſeſs the title of Valentia.

Sir

fortnight before Chriſtmaſſe my Lord and thoſe that came with him arrived at court, where he was very welcome to the Queene and all that attended him, for his ſake. Thus ended our *French* warrs.

I ſpent two winters and a ſummer in court after this, in which time the

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Sir Francis Anneſley, Knight and Baronet, had a reverſionary grant of the title. He was created Baron Mountnorris of Mountnorris in the county of Armagh in Ireland, and by other letters patent under the great ſeal of England, dated 11th of March, 19th of James I. he was created Viſcount of Valentia in the county of Kerry in Ireland, to him and his heirs male; to hold immediately after the death of Henry Power Lord Viſcount Valentia (the perſon mentioned in theſe Memoirs) without heirs male of his body; which title, ſays the Geneologiſt, Sir Francis Anneſley accordingly enjoyed. He was the famous Lord Mountnorris who received ſuch oppreſſion and injuſtice from the Earl of Strafford.

Queene gave mee out of the Exchequer one thouſand pounds to pay my debts, which gave mee great reliefe. Preſently after this, my old Lord[50] *Scroope* died at *Carleil*, and the Queene gave the Weſt Wardenrie to his ſonne that had married my ſiſter. Hee having that office impoſed upon him, came to me with great earneſtneſſe, and deſired mee to be his deputy, offering mee yearly that I ſhould live with him in his houſe, hee would allow me half a dozen men, and as many horſes, to bee kept at his charge;

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[50] Henry Lord Scroop. He was Knight of the Garter, Governor of the caſtle of Carliſle, and Warden of the Weſt Marches towards Scotland. He left two ſons, Thomas and Henry. Thomas married Philadelphia, daughter of Henry Cary Lord Hunſdon. He was particularly ſerviceable to Queen Elizabeth by defending the borders againſt the Scots, and by making a truce with them, very advantagious to England.

and his fee being a thouſand marks yearly, he would part it with mee, and I ſhould have the halfe. This his noble offer I accepted of, left the court, and went with him to *Carleil*, where I was no ſooner come but I entered into my office.

Thus after I had paſſed my beſt time in court, and got little, I betooke myſelf to the country, after I was paſt one and thirty years old, where I lived with great content: for wee had a ſtirring world, and few days paſſed over my head but I was on horſeback, either to prevent miſchiefe, or to take malefactours, and to bring the border in better quiet than it had been in times paſt [51]. God bleſſed mee in all my actions, and I cannot remember that I undertooke any thing in the time that I was there but it tooke good effect. One memorable thing of God's mercy ſhewed unto mee, was ſuch, as I have good cauſe ſtill to remember it.

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[51] The King of Scotland, afterwards our James I. having vented all his anger againſt Queen Elizabeth in words and vapours, began

I had private intelligence given mee that there were two *Scottiſh* men that had kill'd a churchman in *Scotland*, and were by one of the *Greenes* relieved. This *Greene* dwelt within five miles of

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gan to conſider that ſilence and ſubmiſſion were the likelieſt means to lead him to the ſucceſſion of her throne. In the year 1595, he publiſhed a proclamation, prohibiting on very ſevere penalties, his ſubjects on and near the borders of the two kingdoms, either to oppreſs or any ways moleſt and injure the Engliſh. Queen Elizabeth publiſhed another proclamation to the ſame purpoſe. From this time greater peace and harmony than had been, were maintained by the ſubjects of each ſovereign, and a better union ſubſiſted between Elizabeth and James.

Carleil: hee had a pretty houſe, and cloſe by it a ſtrong tower for his own defence in time of need. I thought to ſurprize the *Scottes* on a ſodaine, and about two a clock in the morning I tooke horſe in *Carleil*, and not above twenty-five in my company, thinking to ſurprize the houſe on a ſodaine. Before I could ſurround the houſe, the two *Scottes* were gotten into the ſtrong tower, and I mought ſee a boy riding from the houſe as faſt as his horſe could carry him, I little ſuſpecting what it meant: but *Thomas Carleton* came to me preſently, and told mee that if I did not preſently prevent it, both myſelfe and all my company would be either ſlaine or taken priſoners. It was ſtrange to mee to hear this language. He then ſaid to mee, "Do you ſee that boy that "rideth away ſo faſt? hee will be in

“ *Scotland* within this halfe hour, and “ hee is gone to let them know that “ you are here, and to what end you “ are come, and the ſmall number “ you have with you, and that if they “ will make haſte, on a ſodaine they “ may ſurprize us, and do with us “ what they pleaſe.” Here upon wee tooke adviſe what was beſt to be done. Wee ſent notice preſently to all parts to raiſe the country, and to come to us with all the ſpeed they could ; and withall wee ſent to *Carleil* to raiſe the townſmen, for without foote wee could do no good againſt the tower. There wee ſtayed ſome hours expecting more company, and within ſhort time after, the country came in on all ſides, ſo that wee were quickly betweene three and four hundred horſe; and after ſome little longer ſtay, the foote of *Carleil* came to us to the number of three hundred or four hundred men; whom wee ſet preſently at worke to get up to the top of the tower, and to uncover the roofe, and then ſome twenty of them to fall downe together, and by that meanes to winne the tower. The *Scottes* ſeeing their preſent danger offer'd to parley, and yielded themſelves to my mercy. They had no ſooner opened the iron gate, and yielded themſelves my priſoners, but wee might ſee four hundred horſe within a quarter of a mile coming to their reſcue, and to ſurprize mee and my ſmall company: but of a ſodaine they ſtayed, and ſtoode at gaze. Then had I more to do than ever, for all our borderers came crying with full mouthes, "Sir, "give us leave to ſet upon them, for "theſe are they that have killed our "fathers, our brothers, our uncles,

" and our coſins, and they are come
" thinking to ſurprize you, upon
" weake graſſe nagges, ſuch as they
" could get on a ſodaine, and God
" hath put them into your hands, that
" wee may take revenge of them for
" much blood that they have ſpilt of
" ours." I deſired they would be patient awhile, and bethought myſelfe, if I ſhould give them their willes, there would be few or none of them [the *Scots*] that would eſcape unkill'd (there was ſo many deadly feuds among them) and therefore I reſolved with myſelfe, to give them a fair anſwer, but not to give them their deſire. So I told them that if I were not there myſelfe, they might then do what pleaſed themſelves, but being preſent, if I ſhould give them leave, the blood that ſhould be ſpilt that day would lie very heavy upon my conſcience, and therefore

therefore I deſired them for my ſake to forbeare, and if the *Scotts* did not preſently make away with all the ſpeede they could upon my ſending to them, they ſhould then have their willes to do what they pleaſed. They were ill ſatisfied with my anſwer, but durſt not diſobey. I ſent with ſpeede to the *Scottes*, and bade them packe away with all the ſpeede they could, for if they ſtayed the meſſengers retourne, they ſhould few of them retourne to their own home. They made no ſtay, but they were turned homewards before the meſſenger had made an end of his meſſage. Thus by God's mercy I eſcaped a great danger, and by my means there was a great many mens lives ſaved that day.

Not long after this I married a [52] gentlewoman more for her worth than her wealth, for her eſtate was but five hundred pounds a yeare jointure, and ſhe had betweene five and ſix hundred pounds in her purſe. Neither did ſhe marry me for any great wealth, for I had in all the world, but one hundred pounds a yeare penſion out of the Exchequer, and that was but during pleaſure, and I was neere a thouſand pounds in debt; beſides, the Queene was mightily offended with mee for marrying, and moſt of my beſt friends, only my father was no ways diſpleaſed at it, which gave me great content.

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[52] Elizabeth daughter of Sir Hugh Trevannion. She was a widow when Mr. Cary married her, but the name of her firſt huſband is no where mentioned.

After I was married, I brought my wife to *Carliſle*, where we were ſo nobly uſed by my [53] Lord, that myſelf, my wife, and all my ſervants were lodged in the caſtle, where wee lived with him, and had our diet for ourſelves, our ſervants and horſes, provided for as his owne were. Wee had not long lived thus, but a ſodaine occaſion called mee up to the terme, which then was at St. *Albans*, by reaſon of a great plague that yeare at *London*, the Queene lying then at *Windſor*. The cauſe was as followeth.

There was an old gentleman in *Suffolke* that had an old wife, his name was *Gardiner*. They were childeles. This man in recompence of ſome favour my father had done him (after his own life and his wives) made an eſtate of a Lordſhip of his called *Colombine-hall* in *Suffolke*, to my brother *William* and his heires male, and for want thereof to mee and my heires male, and for want thereof to my father and his heires for ever.

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[53] Thomas Lord Scroop, who ſucceeded his father in the government of the caſtle at Carliſle.

My brother marries, and by fradulent meanes, privately cutts mee off from the intaile, and by the conſent of *Gardiner* and his wife, makes his own wife a jointure of this Lordſhip. My brother dyes without children. Then came it out that this land was given in jointure to his wife. I commenced ſuit of law with her, my eldeſt brother took her part, by reaſon that if ſhe had prevailed, after her life, the law had caſt the land upon him. My ſiſter in law and I had proceeded ſo farre ſarre in Chauncery, that the cauſe was to be heard and decided that Michaelmaſſe terme at St. *Albins*. Thoſe that I put in truſt to follow my law buſineſſe wrote to me in plain words, that neither they nor any body elſe durſt follow the cauſe, they were ſo bitterly threatened by my brother's agent, who did aſſure them my brother would be there himſelfe, to ſee that his ſiſter in law ſhould have no wrong, and then they ſhould ſee who durſt appear to contradict him. Thus did my brother by his power, mean to overthrow my right in my abſence; for hee aſſured himſelfe I durſt not come too neere the court, having ſo lately offended the Queene, and the moſt of my friends by my marriage. But he was deceived, for I having heard this by my ſervant that I putt in truſt to follow my buſineſſe, I preſently reſolved to come to St. *Albans*, and to do my beſt to defend my own cauſe. I had not beene there two dayes, but in the lodging where I lay, my brother's man come in to take up a lodging for his maſter. I aſked him where my brother was? he told mee he was within two miles of the towne, and was come expreſsly out of the iſle of *Wight*, for no other cauſe but a buiſineſſe in law, wherein he made ſure account to overthrow his adverſary that terme; but againſt whom it was hee knew not. Hee tooke horſe againe, after hee had provided a lodging, to meet his maſter. He mett him not a mile from the towne, and told him that he had found mee there, and that I lay in the ſame houſe that hee was to lye in. My brother at this newes was much troubled, and ſtood muſing with himſelfe a good ſpace: at laſt, of a ſodaine he tourned his horſe head, and came not at all to St. *Albans*, but went to *Windſor*, and truſted others to follow the cauſe. My cauſe was ſo juſt that I ended the buſineſſe that terme, overthrew my ſiſter's jointure, and had the land ſettled as it was IN STATU QUO PRIUS.

Having ended my buſineſſe I meant to retourne to *Carleil* againe. My father wrote to mee from *Windſor* that the Queene meant to have a great triumph there, on her coronation day, and that there was great preperation making for the courſe of the field and tourney [54]. Hee gave mee notice of the Queen's anger for my marriage, and ſaid it may bee, I being ſo neere, and to retourne without honouring her day, as I ever before had done, might be a cauſe of her further diſlike, but left it to myſelfe to do what I thought beſt. My buſineſſe of law therefore being ended, I came to court, and lodged there very privately, only I made myſelfe knowne to my father and ſome few friends beſides. I here tooke order and ſent to London to provide mee things neceſſary for the triumph: I prepared a preſent for her majeſtie, which with my capariſons coſt me above four hundred pounds. I came into the triumph unknown of

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[54] Plays, maſks, triumphs, and tournaments, which the Author calls TOURNEYS, were ſmall branches of thoſe many ſpreading allurements which Elizabeth made uſe of to draw to herſelf the affections and the admiration

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miration of her ſubjects. She appeared at them with dignity, eaſe, grace, and affability.

any. I was the forſaken Knight that had vowed ſolitarineſſe, but hearing of this great triumph thought to honour my miſtreſſe with my beſt ſervice, and then to retourne to pay my wonted mourning. The triumph ended, and all things well paſſed over to the Queene's [55] liking. I then made myſelfe known in court, and for the time I ſtayed there was daily converſant with my old companions and friends, but it ſo fell out that I made no long ſtay there: it was upon this occaſion.

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[55] The Queen was undoubtedly advertiſed that her *forſaken Knight* (for ſuch indeed he was) had *iſſued forth* from his ſolitarineſs to *baſk himſelf in the ſunſhine of her luminous countenance*, and to gather courage and proweſs from *the beams of her bright eyes*. Nothing, not even trifles, paſſed abroad or at home, with which ſhe was not acquainted. But as ſhe had no immediate occaſion for the ſervice of Sir Robert Cary, her Majeſty was determined ſtill to continue the outward ſhew of her reſentment, 'till ſhe wanted him.

My brother Sir *John Cary*, that was then Marſhall of *Berwick*, was ſent to by the King of *Scottes* to deſire him that he would meet his Majeſtie at the bound rode at a day appointed; for that he had a matter of great importance to acquaint his ſiſter the Queene of *England* withall, but he would not truſt the Queene's Embaſſadour with it, nor any other, unleſs it were my father, or ſome of his children. My brother ſent him word he would gladly wait on his Majeſtie, but durſt not untill he had acquainted the Queene therewith, and when he had received her anſwer, hee would acquaint him with it. My brother ſent notice to my father of the King's deſire. My father ſhewed the letter to the Queene.

She was not willing that my brother ſhould ſtir out of the [56] towne, but knowing (*though ſhe would not know*) that I was in court, ſhe ſaid, "I heare "your fine ſonne that has lately mar-"ried ſo worthily, is hereabouts; ſend "him if you will to know the King's "pleaſure." My father anſwered, hee knew I would be glad to obey her commaundes. "No (ſaid ſhe) do you "bid him go, for I have nothing to "do with [57] him." My father came and told mee what had paſs'd betweene them. I thought it hard to be ſent, and not to ſee her, but my father told mee plainly, that ſhe would neither ſpeak with mee nor ſee mee. “ Sir, “ ſaid I, if ſhe be on ſuch hard termes “ with mee, I had need be wary what “ I do. If I go to the King without “ her licenſe, it were in her power to “ hang [58] me at my retourne, and for “ any thing I ſee, it were ill truſting “ her.” My father merrily went to the Queene, and told her what I ſaid. She anſwered, “ If the gentleman be “ ſo miſtruſtfull, let the Secretary “ make a ſafe conduct to go and come, “ and I will ſign it.” Upon theſe termes I parted from court, and made all the haſte for *Scotland*. I ſtayed but one night with my wiſe at *Carleil*, and then to *Barwick*, and ſo to *Edenborough*, where it pleaſed the King to uſe mee very graciouſly; and after three or foure dayes ſpent in ſport and merriment, he acquainted mee with what he deſired the Queene ſhould know; which when I underſtood, I ſaid to his Majeſtie, "Sir, betweene "ſubject and ſubject, a meſſage may "be ſent and delivered without any "danger; between two ſo great mo-"narches as your Majeſtie and my Mi-"ſtreſſe, I dare not truſt my memory "to be a relatour, but muſt deſire "you would be pleaſed to write your "minde to her. If you ſhall think "fitt to truſt mee with it, I ſhall "faithfully diſcharge the truſt repoſed "in me." He liked the motion, and ſaid it ſhould be ſo, and accordingly I had my diſpatch within foure dayes [59].

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[56] The town of Berwick, from whence the Queen would not have him ſtir, becauſe ſhe did not deem him to be a proper meſſenger, knowing there was a better within call.

[57] Still maintaining her dignity, yet impatient to have him go.

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[58] By this expreſſion may be ſeen the terror in which this mighty Princeſs governed her ſubjects. By the unrelaxed tightneſs with which ſhe graſped the reins of government, ſhe was at once beloved and feared.

I made all the haſte I could to court, which was then at *Hampton Court*. I arrived there on St. *Steven*'s day in the afternoone. Dirty as I was, I came into the preſence, where I found the lords and ladies [60] dancing. The Queene was not there. My father went to the Queene, to let her know that I was retourned. She willed him to take my meſſage or letters, and bring them to her. Hee came for them, but I deſired him to excuſe mee; for that which I had to ſay either by word or by writing, I muſt deliver myſelfe. I could neither truſt him, nor much leſs any other therewith. He acquainted her Majeſtie with my reſolution. With much adoe I was called for in; and I was left alone with her. Our firſt encounter was ſtormy and terrible, which I paſſed over with ſilence. After ſhee had ſpoken her pleaſure of mee and my wife, I told her, that "Shee herſelfe was the fault of my marriage, "and that if ſhe had but graced mee "with the leaſt of her favours, I had "never left her nor her court; and "ſeeing ſhe was the chief cauſe of my "misfortune, I would never off my "knees till I had kiſs'd her hand, "and obtained my pardon." She was not diſpleaſed with my excuſe, and before wee parted wee grew good friends. Then I delivered my meſſage and my papers, which ſhee tooke very well, and at laſt gave me thankes for the pains I had taken. So having her princely word that ſhe had pardoned and forgotten all faults, I kiſſed her hand, and came forth to the preſence, and was in the court, as I was ever before[61].

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[59] The purport of this interview with James VI. does not appear. Mr. Cary has been in the right to let it remain buried with him. He was a moſt faithful councellor, endued with proper reſerve and taciturnity. Perhaps as the motion came from the King of Scots, it might be as trifling, as by our ignorance of the ſecret it now appears important. King James's mountains frequently brought forth mice.

[60] The court of Queen Elizabeth was at once, gay, decent, and ſuperb.

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[61] The firmneſs with which Mr. Cary weathered out this ſtorm, evidently ſhews in what a ſchool, and under what a miſtreſs he had been bred. He well knew that the curious deſire of the Queen to be fully informed of every particular relating to the King of Scots, muſt after a certain degree of aſſumed paſſion turn into a proper calm, proper at leaſt for hearing his ſentiments, if not for expreſſing ſome of her own. The effects of his judgement were fully anſwered, and certainly his judgement never appeared more conſpicuous, than from the beginning to the end of the ſcene which he has exhibited upon this occaſion.

This God did for mee to bring mee in favour with my ſoveraigne; for if this occaſion had been ſlipt, it may be I ſhould never, never, have ſeene her face more.

After I had ſtayed all Chriſtmaſſe 'till almoſt Shrovetide, I tooke leave of her Majeſtie, and all the reſt of my friends, and made ſtraight for *Carleil*. I continued there 'till the middeſt of May, ſtill buſying myſelf with the affairs of the borders, at which time my wife was brought to bed of a daughter.

Shortly after ſome of my Lord *Scroope*'s officers were at a difference with mee about border-cauſes. My Lord (as I conceived) was more favourable on their ſides than mine, whereupon I reſolved not to continue his deputy any longer. Wee parted on very good termes, and about ſix weekes after my daughter was borne, my wiſe and I tooke our leaves of him, and came to *Witherington*, which was her jointure. There we ſtayed till towards the ſpring the next yeare, and having no imployment, I reſolved to repair again to the court.

My wife was by this time againe with childe. Wee ſet out from *Witherington*, and by eaſy journeys wee got to *London*. My father having the keeping of *Arundell-houſe*, I gott lodging in it for myſelf, my wife, and my ſervants. I went daily to court, and paſſed the time as merrily as I had done before. I had not been there long but I was a ſuitor to my father for the reverſion of *Norham Caſtle*, which hee willingly granted, ſo I could gett the Queene's conſent. After I underſtood his pleaſure, I proceeded no further in it 'till I had written to my brother *John*, who was Marſhall of *Barwick*, for his good will, who had then one hundred pounds of mine out of the demeanes of *Norham*, as a guift from my father. Hee when hee underſtoode my meaning did what he could to hinder mee of it, and made his meanes to *old* [62] *Burleigh*, who moved the Queene not to grant the reverſion without my brother's conſent. Hee wrought ſo with her as her anſwer to mee was, that till I had ſatiſfied my brother *John* ſhee would not grant my ſuite. I knew it was to no purpoſe to deal any further in it till I had ſpoken with my brother, and given him ſatisfaction to his content, and therefore deferred it 'till I retourned to the north. By this time my wife grew ſomething bigge, and by reaſon ſhe could not well agree with the air of *London*, I went with her to a place called *Denham* hard by *Uxbridge*, and there ſhe ſtaide 'till ſhe was brought to bed of a boye, which was about the middeſt of January.

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[62] William Cecil Lord Burleigh was at this time near his end. Gouty in his limbs, infirm in his health, politic ſtill in his head. Wiſe and wary to his laſt moments: unwilling to ſuffer the leaſt grant to be made that in any wiſe might reflect on the Queen's honour and juſtice.

Not long after this, Sir *John Selby*, who was Deputy Warden for my father of the *Eaſt March*, died, and then my father called mee to him, and told mee if I would accept of the place, he would putt mee in poſſeſſion of *Norham*; paying to my brother one hundred pounds per annum as he had done before. I willingly accepted of his offer, and prepared myſelfe for the journey, and left my wiſe and her children at *Denham* 'till ſhe had gathered more ſtrength, and was fitt for travaile. The firſt thing I did, was to agree with my brother for his goodwill for *Norham*, which I bought at a deare rate, for I continued to pay him one hundred pounds a yeare as long as he continued Marſhall of *Barwick*, and beſides I gave him my intereſt of a leaſe which was worth ſix hundred pounds a year, which ſhould have fallen to mee if I had ſurvived him. Having perfected this agreement, my brother acquainted my Lord Treaſurer therewithall. When the Queene knew thereof, ſhe was pleaſed to grant mee the reverſion of the Captaineſhip of *Norham* after my father's death, who had given mee the poſſeſſion of it in his life-time.

Having thus ended with my brother, I then beganne to thinke of the charge I had taken upon mee, which was the government of the *Eaſt March* in my father's abſence. I wrote to [63] Sir *Robert Car*, who was my oppoſite Warden, a brave, active young man, and deſired him that hee would appoint a day when hee and myſelfe might privately meet in ſome part of the border, to take ſome good order for the quieting the borders, 'till my retourne from *London*, which journey I was ſhortly of neceſſity to take. He ſtayed my man all night, and wrote to mee back that he was glad to have the happineſſe to be acquainted with mee, and did not doubt but the country would be the better governed by our good agreements. I wrote to him on the Monday, and the Thurſday after hee appointed the place and hour of meeting.

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[63] The father of the famous Robert Car, made by James I. Viſcount Rocheſter and Earl of Somerſet.

After he had filled my man with drinke, and putt him to bed, hee and ſome halfe a ſcore with him gott to horſe, and came into *England* to a little village. There hee broke up a houſe, and tooke out a poore fellow, who (he pretended) had done him ſome wrong, and before the doore cruelly murthered him, and ſo came quietly home, and went to bed. The next morning he delivered my man a letter in anſwer to mine, and retourned him to mee. It pleaſed me well at the reading of his kinde letter, but when I heard what a BRAVE he had putt upon mee, I quickly reſolved what to do, which was, never to have to do with him 'till I was righted for the great wrong he had done mee. Upon this reſolution, the day I ſhould have mett with him, I tooke poſt, and with all the haſte I could, rode to *London*, leaving him to attend my coming to him as was appointed. There hee ſtayed from one 'till five, but heard no news off mee. Finding by this that I had neglected him, he retourned home to his houſe, and ſo things reſted (with great diſlike the one of the other) till I came back, which was with all the ſpeede I could, my buſineſſe being ended. The firſt thing I did after my retourne, was to aſke juſtice for the wrong he had done mee, but I could gett none. The *borderers* ſeeing our diſagreement, they thought the time wiſhed for of them was come. The winter being beganne there was roades made out of *Scotland* into the *Eaſt March*, and goods were taken three or foure times a weeke. I had no other meanes left to quiet them, but ſtill ſent out of the garriſon horſemen of *Berwick* to watch in the fitteſt places for them, and it was their good hap many times to light upon them with the ſtolen goods driving before them. They were no ſooner brought before mee, but a jury went upon them, and being found guilty they were preſently hanged. A courſe which hath beene ſeldom uſed, but I had no way to keep the country quiet but to do ſo; for when the *Scotch* theeves found what a ſharp courſe I took with them that were found with the bloody hand, I had in a ſhort time the country more quiet. All this while wee were but in jeſt as it were, but now beganne the great quarrell betweene us.

There was a favourite of his *, a great theiſe, called *Giordie Bourne.* This gallant with ſome of his aſſociates, would in a bravery, come and take goods in the *Eaſt March.* I had that night ſome of the garriſon abroad. They met with this *Giordie* and his fellowes, driving of cattle before them. The garriſon ſett upon them, and with a ſhott killed *Giordie Bourne*'s unckle, and hee himſelfe, bravely reſiſting till he was ſore hurt in the head, was taken. After hee was taken, his pride was ſuch as hee aſked, who it was that durſt avow that nightes worke? but when he heard it was the garriſon, he was then more quiet. But ſo powerfull and awfull was this Sir *Robert Car* and his favourites, as there was

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[*] Sir Robert Car's.

not a gentleman in all the *Eaſt March* that durſt offend them. Preſently after he was taken, I had moſt of the gentlemen of the *March* come to mee, and told mee, that now I had the ball at my foote, and might bring Sir *Robert Car* to what condition I pleaſed, for that this man's life was ſo neere and deare unto him, as I ſhould have all that my heart could deſire for the good and quiet of the country and myſelfe, if upon any condition I would give him his life. I heard them and their reaſons, notwithſtanding I called a jury the next morning, and hee was found guilty of [64] MARCH-TREASON. Then they feared that I would cauſe him to be executed that afternoone, which made them come flocking to mee, humbly intreating mee that I would ſpare his life till the next day, and if Sir *Robert Car* came not himſelfe to mee, and made mee not ſuch proffers as I could not but accept, that then I ſhould do with him what I pleaſed. And further they told mee plainly, that if I ſhould execute him before I had heard from Sir *Robert Car*, they muſt be forced to quitt their houſes and fly the country; for his fury would be ſuch againſt mee and the *March* I commanded, as hee would uſe all his power and ſtrength to the utter deſtruction of the *Eaſt March.* They were ſo earneſt with mee, that I gave them my word hee ſhould not dye that day. There was poſt upon poſt ſent to Sir *Robert Car*, and ſome of them rode to him themſelves to advertiſe him in what danger *Giordie Bourne* was: how he was condemned, and ſhould have been executed that afternoone, but by their humble ſuite I gave them my word, that he ſhould not dye that day; and therefore beſought him that hee would ſend to mee with all the ſpeede he could to let mee know that he would be the next day with mee, to offer mee good conditions for the ſafety of his life. When all things were quiet and the watch ſett at night, after ſupper about ten of the clock, I tooke one of my mens liveryes and put it about mee, and tooke two other of my ſervants with mee in their liveryes, and wee three as the Warden's men came to the Provoſt Marſhall's where *Bourne* was, and were let into his chamber. Wee ſate down by him, and told him that wee were deſireous to ſee him, becauſe wee heard hee was ſtout and valiant, and true to his friend; and that wee were ſorry our maſter could not be moved to ſave his life. He voluntarily of himſelfe ſaid, that he had lived long enough to do ſo many villanies as hee had done, and withall told us that he had layne with above forty mens wives, what in *England* what in *Scotland*; and that hee had killed ſeven Engliſhmen with his owne handes cruelly murthering them: that he had ſpent his whole time in whooring, drinking, ſtealing, and taking deep revenge for ſlight offences. He ſeemed to be very pennitent, and much deſired a miniſter for the comfort of his ſoule. Wee promiſed him to let our maſter know his deſire, who, wee knew, would preſently grant it. Wee tooke our leaves of him, and preſently I tooke order that Mr. *Selby*, a very worthy honeſt preacher, ſhould go to him, and not ſtirre from him till his execution the next morning: for after I had heard his own confeſſion, I was reſolved no conditions ſhould ſave his life; and ſo tooke order that at the gates opening the next morning, hee ſhould be carried to execution, which accordingly was performed [65]. The next morning I had one from Sir *Robert Car* for a parley, who was within two miles ſtaying for mee. I ſent him word "I would meet him where he "pleaſed, but I would firſt know up-

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[64] The acts of parliament made in defence of the borders are now obſolete and uſeleſs, by the happy union of the two kingdoms under one ſovereign.

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[65] Until the death of Queen Elizabeth, the kingdom of England had not the benefit of an iſland. The neighbourhood of Scotland made England ſenſible of many of the inconveniences that are felt by neighbouring kingdoms on the continent. Mr. Cary's Memoirs very circumſtantially relate ſome of the blackeſt deeds of the moſt turbulent borderers, of which this account of Giordie [George] Bourne is a moſt conſpicuous example.

“ on what termes and conditions.” Before his man was retourned he had heard, that in the morning very early *Giordie Bourne* had been executed. Many vowes he made of cruell revenge, and retourned home full of griefe and diſdaine, and from that time forwards ſtill plotted revenge. He knew the gentlemen of the country were altogether [66] SACKLESSE, and to make open roade upon the *Marſh* would but ſhew his malice, and lay him open to the puniſhment due to ſuch offences. But his practice was how to be revenged on mee or ſome of mine.

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[66] SACKLESS. This is an obſolete term, ſcarce to be found in the modern dictionaries. In the Etymologicum Anglicanum Franciſci Junii, it is rendered by the Latin word *inculpatus*. The meaning of the ſentence therefore muſt be, “ He knew that the gentlemen of “ the country were perfectly unblameable.”

It was not long after that my brother and I had intelligence that there was a great match made at foote-ball, and the chiefe ryders were to be there. The place they were to meet at was *Shelſy*, and that day we heard it, was the day for the meeting. Wee preſently called a counſaile, and after much diſpute it was concluded, that the likelieſt place he was to come to, was to kill the *Scottes*. And it was the more ſuſpected, for that my brother before my coming to the office, for cattaile ſtolne out of the bounds, and as it were from under the walles of *Barwick*, being refuſed juſtice (upon his complaint) or at leaſt delaid, ſent of the garriſon into *Liddeſdale*, and killed there the chiefe offender which had done the wrong.

Upon this concluſion, there was order taken that both horſe and foote ſhould lye in ambuſh in diverſe parts of the boundes to defend the ſcoutes, and to give a ſound blow to Sir *Robert* and his company. Before the horſe and foote were ſett out with directions what to do, it was almoſt darke night, and the gates ready to be lockt. Wee parted, and I was by my ſelfe coming to my houſe: God putt it into my minde, that it might well be, he meant deſtruction to my men that I had ſent out to gather tithes for mee at *Norham*, and their rendevous was every night to lye and ſup at an ale-houſe in *Norham*. I preſently cauſed my page to take horſe, and to ride as faſt as his horſe could carry him, and to commaund my ſervants (which were in all, eight) that preſently upon his coming to them they ſhould all change their lodging, and go ſtreight to the caſtle, there to lye that night in ſtrawe and hay. Some of them were unwilling thereto, but durſt not diſobey; ſo all together left their alehouſe, and retired to the caſtle. They had not well ſettled themſelves to ſleep, but they heard in the towne a great allarm; for Sir *Robert* and his company came ſtreight to the alehouſe, broke open the doors, and made enquiry for my ſervants. They were anſwered, that by my commaund they were all in the caſtle. After they had ſearched all the houſe and found none, they fear'd they were betray'd, and with all the ſpeed they could made haſt homewards againe. Thus God bleſſed mee from this bloody tragedy.

All the whole *March* expected nightly ſome hurt to be done; but God ſo bleſſed mee and the gouverment I held, as, for all his [Sir *Robert Car*'s] fury, hee never drew drop of blood in all my *March*, neither durſt his theeves trouble it much with ſtealing, for fear of hanging if they were taken. Thus wee continued a yeare, and then God ſent a meanes to bring things to better quiet by this occaſion.

There had beene commiſſioners in *Barwicke* choſen by our Queene and the King of *Scottes*, for the better quieting of the borders. By their induſtry they found a great number of malefactours guilty, both in *England* and *Scotland*; and they tooke order that the officers of *Scotland* ſhould deliver ſuch offenders as were found guilty in their juriſdictions to the oppoſite officers in *England*, to be detained priſoners, till they had made ſatisfaction for the goods they had taken out of *England*. The like order was taken with the Wardens of *England*, and dayes prefixed for the delivery of them all. And in caſe any of the officers on either ſide ſhould omit their duties, in not delivering the priſoners at the dayes and places appointed, that then there ſhould a courſe be taken by the ſoveraignes, that what chief officer ſoever ſhould offend herein, he himſelf ſhould be delivered and detained till he had made good what the commiſſioners had agreed upon.

The Engliſh officers did punctually at the day and place deliver their priſoners, and ſo did moſt of the officers of *Scotland*, only the Lord of *Bocleugh* and Sir *Robert Car* were faultie. They were complained of, and new dayes appointed for the delivery of their priſoners. *Bocleugh* was the firſt that ſhould deliver, and hee failing, entered himſelf priſoner into *Barwicke*, there to remaine till thoſe officers under his charge were delivered to free him. He choſe for his guardian Sir *William Selby*, Maſter of the ordinance at *Barwicke.* When Sir *Robert Car*'s day of delivery came, he failed too, and my Lord *Hume*, by the King's commaund, was to deliver him priſoner into *Barwicke* upon the like termes, which was performed. Sir *Robert Car* (contrary to all mens expectation) choſe mee for his guardian, and home I brought him to my own houſe, after he was delivered to mee. I lodged him as well as I could, and tooke order for his diet and men to attend on him, and ſent him word, that (although by his harſh carriage towards mee, ever ſince I had that charge, he could not expect any favour, yet) hearing ſo much goodneſs of him that he never broke his word, if hee would give mee his hand and credit to be a true priſoner, hee ſhould have no guard ſet upon him, but have free liberty for his friends in *Scotland* to have ingreſſe and regreſſe to him as oft as hee pleaſed. Hee tooke this very kindly at my handes, accepted of my offer, and ſent me thankes.

Some four dayes paſſed; all which time his friends came unto him, and hee kept his chamber. Then hee ſent to mee, and deſired mee I would come and ſpeake with him, which I did; and after long diſcourſe, charging and recharging one another with wrong and injuries, at laſt, before our parting, wee became good friends, with great proteſtations on his ſide never to give mee occaſion of unkindneſſe again. After our reconciliation hee kept his chamber no longer, but dined and ſupt with mee. I tooke him abroad with mee, at the leaſt thrice a weeke, a hunting, and every day wee grew better friends. *Bocleugh* in few dayes after had his pledges delivered, and was ſett at liberty. But Sir *Robert Car* could not gett his, ſo that I was commanded to carry him to *Yorke*, and there to deliver him priſoner to the Archbiſhop, which accordingly I did. At our parting he profeſs'd great love unto mee for the kinde uſage I had ſhewn him, and that I ſhould find the effects of it upon his delivery, which hee hoped would bee ſhortly.

Thus wee parted; and not long after his pledges were gott, and brought to *Yorke*, and hee ſett at liberty. After his retourne home, I found him as good as his word. We mett oft at dayes of truce, and I had as good juſtice as I could deſire; and ſo wee continued very kind and good friends all the time that I ſtayed in that *March*, which was not long.

For preſently after this my father

died, and I had letters ſent downe from Secretary *Cecill*, that it was her Majeſtie's pleaſure I ſhould continue as abſolute Warden in my father's place, untill her further pleaſure were knowne. I continued ſo about a twelvemonth, and lived at my own charge, which impaired my poor eſtate very much. In this time God ſent me another ſon, which was borne and chriſtened at *Barwick*. I did often ſollicite Mr. Secretary for ſome allowance to ſupport me in my place, but could gett no direct anſwer. I ſued for leave to come up myſelfe, but could get none. The *March* was very quiet, and all things in good order, and I adventured without leave to come up.

The Queene lay at *Theobalds*, and early in a morning I came thither. I firſt went to Mr. Secretary, who was much troubled when he ſaw mee, and by no meanes could I gett him to lett the Queene know that I was there, but counſailed mee to retourne, that ſhe might never know what I had done. When I could do no good with him, I went to my brother, who then was Chamberlaine, after my Lord *Cobham*'s death. I found him farre worſe than the other; and I had no way to ſave myſelfe from ſome great diſgrace, but to retourne without her knowledge of my being there; for by no intreaty could I gett him to acquaint her with it. I was much troubled, and knew not well what to do. The Queene went that day to dinner to *Enfield Houſe*, and had toiles ſet up in the parke to ſhoot at buckes, after dinner. I durſt not be ſeene by her, theſe two Counſaillers had ſo terrified mee. But after dinner I went to *Enfield*, and walking ſolitary in a very private place, exceeding melancholy, it pleaſed God to ſend Mr. *William Killigrew*, one of the privy chamber, to paſs by where I was walking, who ſaluted mee very kindly, and bade mee welcome. I anſwered him very kindly, and he perceiving mee very ſad, and ſomething troubled, aſked mee why I was ſo? I told him the reaſon. Hee made little reckoning of what they had ſaid to mee, but bade me comfort myſelfe, for hee would go preſently to the Queene, and tell her of my coming up, on ſuch a faſhion, as hee did warrant me ſhe would take it well, and bid mee welcome. Away he went, and I ſtayed for his retourne. Hee told the Queene, that ſhe was more beholden to one man, than to many other that made greater ſhewe of their love and ſervice. She was deſireous to know who it was. Hee told her it was myſelfe; who not having ſeene her for a twelvemonth and more, could no longer endure to be deprived of ſo great a happineſſe; but tooke poſt with all ſpeede to come up to ſee your Majeſtie, and to kiſſe your hand, and ſo to retourne inſtantly againe. Shee preſently ſent him backe for mee, and received mee with more grace and favour than ever ſhe had done before[67]; and after I had beene with her a pretty while, ſhe was called for to go to her ſports. She aroſe, I tooke her by the arme, and lead her to her ſtanding. My brother and Mr. Secretary ſeeing this, thought it more than a miracle. Shee continued her favour to mee the time I ſtayed, which was not long; for ſhee tooke order I ſhould have five hundred pounds out of the Exchequer for the time I had ſerved, and I had a patent given mee under the great ſeale to be her Warden of the *Eaſt March*. And thus was I preſerved by a pretty jeaſt, when wiſe men [68] thought I had wrought my own wracke. For out of weakneſſe God can ſhew ſtrength, and his goodneſſe was never wanting to me in any extremity.

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[67] She had certainly a ſincere regard for ſo uſeful and loyal a ſervant.

With grace and favour I retourned to my charge againe: yet before my retourne the Queene was pleaſed to renew my grant of [69] *Norham*, with the life of both my ſonnes, and the longer liver of us. I was not long ſettled in my office, but there fell out a new occaſion to remove mee; which was, that my Lord of [70] *Willoughby* (who was newly come from travaile) was made Gouvernour of [71] *Barwicke*, and the *Eaſt March* did properly belong to the Gouvernour there. Hee came down with full commiſſion for both places, ſo that I was now to ſeek what courſe of life to take. Being at liberty up came I to court, where long I did not ſtay; but new occaſion was offered mee to continue a Northerne man ſtill.

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[68] The men here hinted at, had more wiſdom than ſincerity.

[69] One of the caſtles in Northumberland, built to defend the marches againſt the invaders from Scotland. Some crown lands were granted with it.

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[70] Peregrine Bertie Lord Willoughby of Ereſby. He had made a conſiderable figure in the wars of the Low Countries, and in France, where he had paſſed through all the offices of a commander. He was a military nobleman of a very bright character. He died in the year 1601.

[71] The laſt town in England: the barrier between the two Britiſh kingdoms. Often taken, retaken, ſold, pawned, and exchanged both by the Engliſh and Scots. From the time of Edward IV. entirely in the hands of the Engliſh. Queen Elizabeth, ever jealous of her Scottiſh neighbours, reduced the town to a leſs ſize, and augmented the fortifications.—" Be it alſo remembered (ſays Campden in his Britannia) " that the Governor of " this place was always a perſon of the " greateſt eminence among the Engliſh nobi-" lity, and was alſo Warden of theſe Eaſtern " marches." — See Dr. Gibſon's Campden's Britannia, vol. 2. page 1099.

Sir *John*[72] *Foſter*, who had been an active and valiant man, and had done great good ſervice in the *Middle March* (of which place he had been long Warden) grew at length to that weakneſſe by reaſon of his age, that the borderers knowing it, grew inſolent, and by reaſon of their many excurſions and open roades, the inhabitants of that *March* were much weakened and impoveriſhed, ſo that they were no longer able to ſubſiſt without preſent help. The Queene and Counſaile were informed thereof. To remedy this inconvenience they made choice of a worthy nobleman, my Lord [73] *Euers*, to ſupply Sir *John Foſter*'s place; and to inable him the better, he was allowed one hundred horſemen out of *York-ſhire*, to be diſpoſed of at his pleaſure, for the better quieting of the country. He came into his office with great joy and comfort for the poor inhabitants of the *March*, and to the terror and fear of the malefactours, expecting their utter ruin. But it oft falls out that ſeldome comes a better: for although his Lordſhip

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[72] A knight of conſiderable poſſeſſions in Northumberland. The family, according to Campden, were originally of Berkſhire.

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[73] The ſon of Sir William Eure, who was created an Engliſh Baron by King Henry VIII. The family is extinct. Ralph Lord Eure, the laſt of the title, died in 1707.

ſhip did carefully employ his whole endeavour for the good of the *March*, and the deſtroying of malefactours, yet by truſting too much to men that hee thought honeſt and [74] faithful to him, he was deceived and abuſed: for, for all his hundred horſemen, and his deſire to have the country well governed, yet hee had not long beene there, but the theeves were freed of their fear, and the poor inhabitants in worſe caſe than ever. And to be ſhort, the whole five years that hee remained there, every year grew worſe and worſe; that none flouriſhed but malefactours, who did what they liſted, and harried and ſpoiled whole towneſhips at their pleaſure; ſo that the poor inhabitants were ready to fly their country, and to leave it waſt. The Queene and Counſaile were informed thereof, and my Lord himſelfe made ſuite to leave his place, ſeeing himſelfe abuſed by his officers whom he truſted, and could not tell how to help it.

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[74] Every circumſtance of this kind, let it happen where, or when it will, puts us in mind of the unfortunate and great Lord Bacon, whoſe ſervants by their iniquities, were one chief cauſe of his ruin. During his tryal, a parcel of them were ſitting in his hall: and when he paſſed by, They aroſe to ſhew him obeiſance. "Pray gentlemen," ſaid his Lordſhip in the punning ſtyle of thoſe times, "ſit ſtill, for your *riſe* has been my *fall*."

About this time I had reſigned my office of the *Eaſt March* to my Lord *Willoughby*, and was at court. Mr. Secretary ſent for mee to his chamber, and was deſireous to know of mee, whether I would accept it, if the Queene would conferre on mee the Warden of the *Middle March?* I ſaid to him, I was a ſtranger to the country, and had a ſmall acquaintance in it, and the *March* was much weakened and ſpoiled: yet, upon good conditions it might bee I would accept it. Hee aſſured mee that my demands ſhould bee very unreaſonable if they were refuſed, and that I ſhould be ſure to have a hundred horſe, as my Lord *Euers* had, and if I deſired more, he did not doubt but the Queene would grant them. I deſired two dayes time to give my anſwer, which was granted. After I had conferred with my friends, and reſolved what to do, I came to him and told him, that although I knew all things were out of order in the *Middle March*, and that the theeves did domineere, and do what they pleaſed, and that the poore inhabitants were utterly diſenabled and overthrowne, yet was I not deſireous to put the Queene and country to greater charge than was fitting: and whereas his Lordſhip offered me more ſouldiers than my Lord *Euers* had, I did not deſire ſo many ; but if I might be allowed but forty horſemen, and they to be my owne ſervants, and reſident with mee in my owne houſe, I would put the Queen and country to no more charge, and would accept of the place [75]. He was much amazed at my ſmall demaund, went preſently to the Queene to acquaint her therewith. I had my demaund granted, my commiſſion with all ſpeed ſigned, and I was ſent downe to execute my office.

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[75] Such an inſtance of moderation and frugality towards the public muſt be extremely acceptable to Queen Elizabeth. She loſt not a moment's time in rewarding a ſervant who made ſo ſmall a demand. The Queen was perfectly frugal of the revenue of the crown. Mr. Cary wiſely followed her Majeſty's example.

I was no ſooner come downe but I removed my wife, children and houſehold, to [76] *Anwicke Abbey*, which was in the *Midde March*; the houſe where Sir *John Foſter* ever lived when he was Warden. The firſt thing I did after I was ſettled in my office, was to cleanſe my under officers. I made choice of Sir *Henry* [77] *Woodrington* and Sir *William Fenwick* to be my two Deputy Wardens, and gave the one the keeperſhip of [78] *Riſdale*, the other that of [78] *Liddeſdale*, and allowed them out of my forty horſe, ſix apiece to attend them. I allowed *Roger Woodrington* two horſemen, who was employed by mee on all occaſions, and for the time I remained there did the Queene and countrey very great and good ſervice. The reſt of the horſe I beſtowed on my ſervaunts in my own houſe, which were gentlemen's ſonnes in the countrey, and younger brothers of good rank; ſo that I had continually in my owne ſtable (with my owne proviſion) forty good horſe, and good men able to ride them.

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[76] Anwick abbey belonged to a monaſtery, built in the town of Alnewick, (or as pronounced, Anwick) by the family of the Veſcies, in the year 1147. The particular ſite of Anwick, is mentioned hereafter.

[77] Sir Henry Widdrington, I preſume, that family being ſeated in Northumberland.

[78] Liddeſdale is a ſmall county in the ſouth of Scotland, on the borders of England; bounded on the eaſt with Northumberland, on the ſouth with Cumberland.

[78] Riſdale joins Liddeſdale.

The theeves hearing of my being ſettled there, continued ſtill their wonted courſe in ſpoiling the countrey, not caring much for mee, nor my authority. It was the beginning of ſummer when I firſt entered into my office, but afore that ſummer was ended they grew ſomewhat more fearfull. For the firſt care I tooke, was to cleanſe the countrey of our inbred feares, the theeves within my *March*, for by them moſt miſchiefe was done: for the SCOTCH [79] RIDERS were alwayes guided by ſome of them in all the ſpoiles they made. God bleſſed mee ſo well in all my deſignes, as I never made journey in vaine, but did that I went for.

Amongſt other malefactours, there were two gentlemen theeves, that robbed and tooke purſes from travaylers in the high-wayes, (a theft that was never heard of in thoſe partes before). I gott them betrayed, tooke them, and ſent them to *Newcaſtle* jayle, and there they were hanged.

I tooke not ſo few as ſixteene or ſeventeene that ſummer, and the winter following, of notorious offenders, that ended their dayes by hanging or heading. When I was Warden of the *Eaſt March*, I had to do but with the oppoſite *March* which Sir *Robert Car* had; but here I had to do with the *Eaſt*, *Middle*, and *Weſt Marches* of *Scotland*. I had very good juſtice [80] WITH Sir *Robert Car* and the Lairde of *Fenheſt*, that had charge over the *Eaſt* part of the *Middle March*, but the *Weſt* part, which was *Liddeſdale*, and the *Weſt March*, kept me a great while incumber. The firſt thing they did was the taking of [81] *Hartweſell*, and carrying away of priſoners and all their goodes. I ſent to ſeek for juſtice for ſo great a wrong. The oppoſite officer ſent mee word, it was not in his power, for that they were all fugitives, and not anſwerable to the King's lawes. I acquainted the King of *Scottes* with his anſwer. Hee ſignified to mee that it was true, and that if I could take my own revenge without hurting his honeſt ſubjects, he would be glad of it. I tooke no long time to reſolve what to do, but ſent ſome two hundred horſe to the place where the principall outlyers lived, and tooke and brought away all the goodes they had. The outlawes themſelves were in ſtrong holdes, and could no way bee gott hould of. But one of the chiefe of them, being of more courage than the reſt, gate to horſe and came pricking after them, crying out and aſking, What he was that durſt avowe that mighty worke? One of the company came to him with a ſpeare and ran him through the body, leaving his ſpeare broke in him, of which wound he died. The goodes were divided to poore men from whom they were taken before.

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[79] Robbers, or as ſometimes termed, moſs-troopers.

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[80] [from].

[81] In Northumberland upon the eaſtern, or Engliſh ſide of the Tweed, cloſe upon the ſhore, is a ſmall town called Weſell, which is probably the place here mentioned.

This act ſo irritated the outlawes, that they vowed cruel revenge, and that before the next winter was ended they would leave the whole countrey waſt, that there ſhould be none to reſiſt them. His name was [82] *Sim* of the *Cat-hill*, that was killed, (an *Armeſtrong*), and it was a [83] *Ridley* of *Hartweſell* that killed him. They preſently tooke a reſolution to be revenged on that towne. Thither they came, and ſet many houſes of the towne on fire, and tooke away all their goods; and as they were running up and downe the ſtreets with lights in their handes to ſett more houſes on fire, there was one other of the *Ridleys* that was in a ſtrong ſtone houſe that made a ſhott out amongſt them, and it was his good hap to kill an *Arme-ſtrong*, one of the ſonnes of the chiefeſt outlaw. The death of this young-man wrote ſo deep an impreſſion amongſt them, as many vowes were made that before the end of next winter they would lay the whole border waſte. This [the murder] was done about the end of *May*. The chiefe of all theſe out-lawes was old *Sim* of [84] *Whittram*. He had five or

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[82] Simon Armſtrong.

[83] The Ridleys are mentioned by Campden as an antient and worthy family of Northumberland.

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[84] I preſume that the place here meant is Whithern, a market town, lying upon the ſea in the bay of Wigtoun, and in the ſhire of Galway.

ſix ſonnes, as able men as the borders had. This old man and his ſonnes had not ſo few as two hundred at their commaunds, that were ever ready to ride with them to all [85] actions at their beck.

The high parts of the *Marſh* towards *Scotland* were put in a mighty fear, and the chiefe of them, for themſelves and the reſt, petition'd to mee, and did aſſure mee, that unleſs I did take ſome courſe with them by the end of that ſummer, there was none of the inhabitants durſt or would ſtay in their dwellings the next winter, but they would fly the countrey, and leave their houſes and lands to the fury of the out-lawes. Upon this complaint, I called the gentlemen of the countrey together, and acquainted them with the miſery that the higheſt parts of the *March* towards *Scotland* were likely to endure if there were not timely prevention to avoid it, and deſired them to give mee their beſt advice what courſe were fitt to be taken. They all ſhewed themſelves willing to give mee their beſt counſailes, and moſt of them were of opinion, that I was not well adviſed to refuſe the hundred horſe that my Lord *Euers* had, and that now my beſt way was ſpeedily to acquaint the Queene and Counſaile with the neceſſity of having more ſoldiers, and that there could not be leſs than a hundred horſe ſent downe for the defence ſence of the countrey, beſides the forty that I had already in pay, and that there was nothing but force of ſoldiers could keep them in awe; and to let the Counſaile plainly underſtand, that the *Marſh* of themſelves were not able to ſubſiſt whenever the winter and long nights came in, unleſſe preſent cure and remedy were provided for them. I deſired them to adviſe better of it, and to ſee if they could find out any other meanes to prevent their miſcheivous intentions, without putting the Queene or countrey to any further charge[86]. They all reſolved there was no ſecond meanes. Then I told them my intention what I meant to do,

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[85] The frequent excurſions of the borderers (indeed on both ſides) gave occaſion to an enigmatical proverb, according to the ſtyle of thoſe times, *If they come they come not, and if they come not they come.* Meaning that if their herds were intercepted by thoſe free-booters, then their cattle did not come home as uſual at night, but if the free-booters did not come, then the cattle ſurely returned.

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[86] Another inſtance of well judged parſimony, joined to a ſpirit, incapable of being alarmed by the threatened approaches of danger.

which was, "That myſelfe with my
" two deputyes, and the forty horſe
" that I was allowed, would with what
" ſpeed wee could make ourſelves ready
" to go up to the waſtes, and there we
" would entrench ourſelves, and lye as
" near as wee could to the outlawes;
" and if there were any brave ſpirits
" among them that would go with us,
" they ſhould be very welcome, and
" fare and lye as well as myſelfe; and
" I did not doubt before the ſummer
" ended, to do ſomething that ſhould
" abate the pride of theſe out-lawes."
Thoſe that were unwilling to hazard themſelves liked not this motion. They ſaid that in ſo doing, I might keep the country in quiet the time I lay there, but when the winter approached, I could ſtay there no longer, and that was the theeves time to do all their miſchiefe. But there were divers young gentlemen

gentlemen that offer'd to go with mee, ſome with three, ſome with four horſes, and to ſtay with me ſo long as I would there continue. I tooke a liſt of all thoſe that offer'd to go with mee, and found that with myſelf, my officers, the gentlemen and our ſervants, wee ſhould be about two hundred good men and horſe: a competent number as I thought for ſuch a ſervice.

The day and place was appointed for our meeting in the waſtes; and by the help of the [87] foote of *Liddeſdale* and *Riſdale*, wee had ſoone built a pretty fort, and within it we had all cabines made to lye in, and every one brought beds or matreſſes to lye on.

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[87] Soldiers maintained by the ſovereigns of each kingdom, and placed in the ſeveral caſtles upon the borders, not only to ſecure the limits, but to ſuppreſs the riders.

There we ſtayed from the middeſt of *June* 'till almoſt the end of *Auguſt.* Wee were betweene fifty and ſixty gentlemen, beſides their ſervants, and my horſemen; ſo that wee were not ſo few as two hundred horſe. Wee wanted no proviſion for ourſelves nor our horſes; for the country people were well payd for any thing they brought us, ſo that we had a good market every day before our fort, to buy what we lacked.

The chiefe out-lawes at our coming, fled their houſes where they dwelt, and betooke themſelves to a large and great forreſt (with all their goodes) which was called the *Tarras.* It was of that ſtrength, and ſo ſurrounded with bogges and mariſh grounds, and thicke buſhes and ſhrubbes, as they feared not the force nor power of *England* nor *Scotland* ſo long as they were there. They ſent me word that I was like the firſt puffe of a [88] *haggaſſe*, hotteſt at the firſt, and bade me ſtay there as long as the weather would give me leave; they would ſtay in the *Tarras-wood*, 'till I was weary of lying in the waſte, and when I had had my time, and they no whit the worſe, they would play their parts, which ſhould keep mee waking the next winter, Thoſe gentlemen of the country, that came not with mee, were of the ſame minde, for they knew (or thought at leaſt) that my force was not ſufficient to withſtand the fury of the out-lawes [89].

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[88] A Scotch proverb. The *haggaſs* is a kind of pudding: the belly of a ſheep, filled with minced meat, blood, onions and herbs. A diſh much eaten by the common people of Scotland. It is always ſent up very hot, and when cut, ſmoaks, and the air coming out makes a noiſe.

[89] None of theſe country gentlemen acted either to the honour of their country, or of themſelves.

The time I ſtayed at the fort I was not idle, but caſt by all meanes I could how to take them in the great ſtrength they were in. I found a meanes to ſend a hundred and fifty horſemen into *Scotland* (conveighed by a MUFFLED MAN not known to any of the company) thirty miles within *Scotland*, and the buſineſſe was ſo carried that none in the countrey tooke any alarum at this paſſage. They were quietly brought to the backſide of the *Tarraſs* to *Scotland*-ward. There they divided themſelves into three parts, and tooke up three paſſages which the out-lawes made themſelves ſecure of, if from *England* ſide they ſhould at any time be put at. They had their ſcoutes on

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themſelves. England has ever had *haggaſſes.* Men who like puddings, were never hot but at table.

the tops of hills on the *Engliſh* ſide, to give them warning if at any time any power of men ſhould come to ſurpriſe them. The three ambuſhes were ſafely laid without being diſcovered, and about four o'clock in the morning there were three hundred horſe and a thouſand foote that came directly to the place where the ſcoutes lay. They gave the alarum: our men brake down as faſt as they could into the wood. The out-lawes thought themſelves ſafe, aſſuring themſelves at any time to eſcape; but they were ſo ſtrongly ſett upon on the *Engliſh* ſide, as they were forced to leave their goodes, and to betake themſelves to their paſſages towards *Scotland*. There was preſently five taken of the principall of them. The reſt ſeeing themſelves (as they thought) betrayed, retired into the thicke woodes and bogges, that our men durſt not follow them, for feare of looſing themſelves. The principall of the five that were taken, were two of the eldeſt ſonnes of *Sim* of *Whittram*. Theſe five they brought to mee to the fort, and a number of goodes both of ſheep and kine, which ſatisfied moſt part of the country that they had ſtolen them from.

The five that were taken were of great worth and value amongſt them, inſomuch that for their liberty I ſhould have what conditions I ſhould demand or deſire. Firſt all *Engliſh* priſoners were ſett at liberty. Then had I themſelves and moſt part of the gentlemen of the *Scottiſh* ſide ſo ſtrictly bound in bondes, to enter to mee, in fifteen dayes warning, any offendour, that they durſt not for their lives break any covenant that I made with them; and ſo upon theſe conditions I ſett them at liberty, and was never after troubled with theſe kind of people. Thus God bleſſed me in bringing this great trouble to ſo quiet an end, wee brake up our fort, and every man retired to his owne houſe.

After God had put an end to this troubleſome buſineſſe, I reſted in quiet the reſt of the ſummer, and the next winter after; and had leiſure by little and little to purge the *Marſh* of inbred theeves, and God ſo bleſſed me that I failed not in any of my undertakings, but did effect what I went for, which did ſo aſtoniſh all the malefactours as they were afraid to offend; ſo that the *Marſh* reſted very quiet from the invaſion of the foreigne, and from the petty ſtealthes of the theeves that lived amongſt ourſelves.

The next ſummer after I fell into a cumberſome trouble, but it was not in the nature of theeves or malefactours. There had beene an antient cuſtome of the borderers when they were at quiet, for the oppoſite border to ſend to the Warden of the *Middle Marſh*, to deſire leave that they might come into the borders of *England*, and hunt with their greyhounds for deere, towards the end of ſummer, which was never denyed them. But towards the end of Sir *John Foſter*'s gouvernment, when he grew very old and weake, they tooke boldneſſe upon them, and without leave aſking would come into *England*, and hunt at their pleaſure, and ſtay their owne time; and when they were a hunting, their ſervants would come with cartes and cutt downe as much wood as every one thought would ſerve his turne, and carry it away to their houſes in *Scotland*. Sir *John*'s imbecility and weakneſſe occaſioned them to continue this miſdemeanour ſome four or five yeares together, before hee left his office. And after my Lord *Euers* had the office, hee was ſo vexed and troubled with the diſorders of the country, as all the time he remained there, he had no leiſure to thinke of ſo ſmall a buſineſſe, and to redreſſe it; ſo that now they began to hold it lawfull to come and go at their pleaſures without leave aſking. The firſt ſummer I entered they did the like. The *Armſtrongs* kept mee ſo on worke, that I had no time to redreſſe it. But having over-maſtered them, and the whole *Marſh* being brought to a good ſtay and quietneſſe, the beginning of next ſummer I worte to *Ternherſt*, the Warden over-againſt mee, to deſire him to acquaint the gentlemen of his *March*, that I was no way unwilling to hinder them of their accuſtomed ſportes to hunt in *England* as they ever had done, but withall I would not by my default diſhonour the Queene and myſelfe to give them more liberty than was fitting: I prayed him therefore to let them know, that if they would, according to the antient cuſtome, ſend to mee for leave, they ſhould have all the contentment I could give them; if otherwiſe they would continue their wonted courſe, I would do my beſt to hinder them.

Notwithſtanding this letter, within a month after they came and hunted as they uſed to do without leave, and cutt downe wood and carryed it away. I wrote againe to the Warden, and plainly told him I would not ſuffer one other affront, but if they came againe without leave, they ſhould dearly ABY * it. For all this they would not be warned, but towards the end of the ſummer they came againe to their wonted ſportes. I had taken order to have preſent word brought mee, which was done. I ſent my two deputies with all the ſpeede they could make, and they tooke along with them ſuch gentlemen as were in their way, with my forty horſe, and about one of the clocke they came to them and ſet upon them; ſome hurt was done, but I gave eſpeciall order they ſhould do as little hurt, and ſhed as little blood as poſſibly they could [88]. They obſerved my command, only they broke all their cartes, and tooke a dozin of the principall gentlemen that were there, and brought them to mee to [89] *Witherington* where I then lay. I made them welcome, and gave them the beſt entertainment that I could. They lay in the caſtle two or three dayes, and ſo I ſent them home; they aſſuring mee that they would never hunt there againe without leave, which they did truly performe all the time I ſtayed there; and I many times mett them myſelfe, and hunted with them two or three dayes: and ſo wee continued good neighbours ever after. But the King complained to the Queene very grieveouſly of this fact [90]. The Queene and Councill liked very well of what I had done; but to give the King ſome ſatisfaction to content him, my two officers were commanded to the Biſhop of *Durham*'s, there to remaine priſoners during her Majeſtie's pleaſure. Within a fortnight I had them out againe, and there was no more of this buſineſſe. The reſt of the time I ſtayed there, it was governed with great quietneſſe.

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* Suffer for it.

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[88] The eſpecial order of a true brave man; courage never being defective in humanity.

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[89] The caſtle of Withrington in Northumberland.

[90] King James was eaſily alarmed at the leaſt circumſtance that ſeemed to infringe upon his prerogative of hunting, in which he took great delight. See Sully's Memoirs.

In this ſtate was this *Middle March* when King *James* came in King of *England*; and in all the time I continued officer there, God ſo bleſſed mee, and all the actions I tooke in hand, that I never failed of any one enterpriſe, but they were all effected to my own deſire, and the good of that gouvernment. Thus paſſed I forty-two of my years, God aſſiſting me with his bleſſing and mighty protection.

After that all things were quieted, and the border in ſafety, towards the end of five years that I had been Warden there, having little to do, I reſolved upon a journey to court, to ſee my friends and renew my acquaintance there. I tooke my journey about the end of the year [91]. When I came to court I found the Queene ill diſpoſed, and ſhee kept her inner lodging; yet ſhee hearing of my arrivall ſent for mee. I found her in one of her withdrawing chambers, ſitting low upon her cuſhions. Shee called mee to her, I kiſt her hand, and told her it was my cheifeſt happineſſe to ſee her in ſafety and in health, which I wiſhed might long continue. Shee tooke mee by the hand, and wrung it hard, and ſaid, "No, *Robin*, I am not well," and then diſcourſed with mee of her indiſpoſition, and that her heart had been ſad and heavy for ten or twelve dayes, and in her diſcourſe ſhe fetched not ſo few as forty or fifty great ſighes. I was grieved at the firſt to ſee her in this plight; for in all my lifetime before I never knew her fetch a ſigh, but when the Queene of *Scottes* was beheaded. THEN[92] upon my knowledge ſhe ſhedd many teares and[93] ſighes, manifeſting her innocence that ſhe never gave conſent to the death of that Queene.

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[91] 1602.

I uſed the beſt words I could to perſuade her from this melancholy humour; but I found by her it was too deep rooted in her heart, and hardly to be removed. This was upon a Saterday night, and ſhe gave command that the great cloſet ſhould be prepared for her to go to chappell the next morning. The next day, all things being in a readineſſe, wee long expected her coming. After eleven o'clock, one of the [94] groomes came out and bade make ready for the private cloſet, ſhe would not go to the great. There wee ſtay'd long for her coming, but at the laſt ſhe had cuſhions lay'd for her in the privy chamber hard by the cloſet doore, and there ſhe heard ſervice.

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[92] *At that time*—In the year 1587.

[93] They were indeed neceſſary upon that occaſion.

From that day forwards ſhe grew worſe and worſe. She remained upon her cuſhions four dayes and nights at the leaſt. All about her could not perſuade her either to take any ſuſtenance or go to bed.

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[94] Of the chambers.

I hearing that neither the phyſitians, nor none about her could perſuade her to take any courſe for her ſafety, feared her death would ſoone after enſue. I could not but think in what a wretched eſtate I ſhould be left, moſt of my livelyhood depending on her life. And hereupon I bethought myſelfe with what grace and favour I was ever received by the King of *Scottes*, whenſoever I was ſent to him. I did aſſure myſelfe it was neither unjuſt nor unhoneſt for me to do for myſelfe, if God at that time ſhould call her to his mercy. Hereupon I wrote to the King of *Scottes* (knowing him to be the right heire to the crowne of [95] *England)* and certified him in what ſtate her Majeſtie was. I deſired him not to ſtirr from *Edenborough*; if of that ſickneſſe ſhe ſhould die, I would be the firſt man that ſhould bring him newes of it.

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[95] Proteſtants and papiſts unanimouſly allowed his right: not a murmur aroſe againſt it.

The Queene grew worſe and worſe, becauſe ſhe would be ſo, none about her being able to perſwade her to go to bed. My Lord [96] Admirall was ſent for (who by reaſon of my ſiſter's death, that was his wife, had abſented himſelfe ſome fortnight from court); what by faire meanes, what by force, he gatt her to bed. There was no hope of her recovery, becauſe ſhe refuſed all remedies.

On Wedneſday the twenty-third of *March*, ſhe grew ſpeechleſs. That afternoone, by ſignes, ſhe called for her

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[96] Charles Howard Earl of Nottingham, married to Catherine eldeſt daughter of Henry Lord Hunſdon.

Councill, and by putting her hand to her [97] head, when the King of *Scottes* was named to ſucceed her, they all knew hee was the man ſhe deſired ſhould reigne after her.

About ſix at night ſhe made ſignes for the [98] Archbiſhop and her Chaplains to come to her, at which time I went in with them, and ſate upon my knees full of teares to ſee that heavy ſight. Her Majeſtie lay upon her backe, with one hand in the bed, and the other without. The Biſhop kneeled downe by her, and examined her firſt of her faith, and ſhe ſo punctually anſwered all his ſeveral queſtions, by lifting up her eyes and holding up her hand, as it was a comfort to all the beholders. Then the good man told her plainly, what ſhe was, and what ſhe was to

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[97] The ſign here mentioned is a true and indiſputable fact, otherwiſe it would not have been inſerted by the plain, ſincere, and ingenuous author of theſe Memoirs, who was preſent at the time the ſign was made. But ſtill it remains a doubt whether the Queen intended it for a ſign or not. The Lords preſent pretended to think it one.

[98] John Whitgift, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. He was highly eſteemed by Queen Elizabeth for his ſenſe, learning, and piety. The Queen, who was particularly wary what conceſſions ſhe made, and to whom ſhe granted them, allowed Archbiſhop Whitgift in the year 1579, (then Biſhop of Worceſter) the power of beſtowing the prebends of his church on ſuch perſons as he thought fit, which diſpoſal before this time, had not been in the nomination

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nomination of the Biſhop, but of the Crown; nor did ſhe now give away the right of ſuch diſpoſal to him, and his ſucceſſors, but only as a particular favour to himſelf during his continuance in that ſee. And in the year 1580, the nomination of Juſtices of the Peace for Worceſterſhire and Warwickſhire was left to his diſcretion. Such a confidence did the Queen repoſe in the wiſdom and integrity of this Biſhop.—See the lives of the Archbiſhops.

come to; and though ſhe had been long a great Queene here upon earth, yet ſhortly ſhe was to yield an accompt of her ſtewardſhip to the King of Kings. After this he began to pray, and all that were by did anſwer him. After he had continued long in prayer, 'till the old man's knees were weary, hee bleſſed her, and meant to riſe and leave her. The Queene made a ſigne with her hand. My ſiſter [99] *Scroope* knowing her meaning, told the Biſhop the Queene deſired hee would pray ſtill. Hee did ſo for a long halfe houre after, and then thought to leave her. The ſecond time ſhe made ſigne to have him continue in prayer. He did ſo for halfe an houre more, with earneſt cryes to God for her ſoule's health, which he uttered with that fervency of ſpirit, as the Queene to all our ſight much rejoiced thereat, and gave teſtimony to us all of her chriſtian and comfortable end. By this time it grew late, and every one departed, all but her women that attended her.

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[99] Philadelphia Lady Scroope, ſecond daughter of Henry Cary Lord Hunſdon.

This that I heard with my eares, and did ſee with my eyes, I thought it my duty to ſet downe, and to affirme it for a truth, upon the faith of a chriſtian, becauſe I know there have beene many falſe lyes reported of the end and death of that good lady.

I went to my lodging, and left word with one in the Cofferer's chamber to call mee, if that night it was thought ſhee would die, and gave the porter an angell to let me in at any time when I called. Betweene one and two of the clock on Thurſday morning, he that I left in the Cofferer's chamber brought mee word the Queene was [1] dead. I roſe and made all the haſt to the gate to gett in. There I was anſwered, I could not enter; the Lords of the Councill having been with him, and commanded him that none ſhould go in or out, but by warrant from them. At the very inſtant, one of the Councill (the Comptroller) aſked whether I was at the gate. I ſaid yes. He ſaid to mee, if I pleaſed hee would let mee in. I deſired to know how the Queene did. He anſwered, pretty well. I bade him good night. He replied, and ſaid, Sir, if you will come in, I will give you my word and credit you ſhall go out againe at your owne pleaſure. Upon his word I entered the gate, and came up to the Cofferer's chamber, where I found all the ladies weeping bitterly. Hee led mee from thence to the privy chamber, where all the Councill was aſſembled; there I was caught hold of, and aſſured I ſhould not go for *Scotland*, till their pleaſures were farther knowne. I told them I came of purpoſe to that end. From thence they all went to the Secretaryes chamber, and as they went, they gave a ſpeciall command to the porters, that none ſhould go out of the gates but ſuch ſervants as they ſhould ſend to prepare their coaches and horſes for *London*. There was I left in the middeſt of the court to think my owne thoughtes 'till they had done counſaile. I went to my [2] brother's chamber, who was in bed, having been over-watched many nightes before. I gott him up with all ſpeed, and when the Councill's men were going out of the gate, my brother thruſt to the gate. The porter knowing him to be a great officer, lett him out. I preſſed after him, and was ſtayed by the porter. My brother ſaid angrily to the porter, "Let him out, I will anſwer for him." Whereupon I was ſuffered to paſſe, which I was not a little glad of.

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[1] She died March 24, ſoon after the Archbiſhop had left her, about three o'clock in the morning.

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[2] George Lord Hunſdon, a Privy Councellor, Captain of the Band of Penſioners, Governor

I gott to horſe, and rode to the Knight Marſhall's lodging by *Charing Croſſe*, and there ſtayed 'till the Lords came to *Whitehall Garden*. I ſtaide there till it was nine a'clocke in the morning, and hearing that all the

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Governor of the Iſle of Wight, and Knight of the Garter.

Lords were in the old orchard at *Whitehall*, I ſent the Marſhall to tell them, that I had ſtaide all that while to know their pleaſures, and that I would attend them if they would command mee any ſervice. They were very glad when they heard I was not gone, and deſired the Marſhall to ſend for mee, and I ſhould with all ſpeed be diſpatched for *Scotland*. The Marſhall beleeved them, and ſent Sir *Arthur Savage* for mee. I made haſt to them. One of the Councill (my Lord of [3] *Banbury* that now is) whiſpered the Marſhall in the eare, and told him, if I came they would ſtay me, and ſend ſome other in my ſtead. The Marſhall gott from them, and mett mee coming to them between the two gates. Hee bade mee be gone, for hee had learned for certaine, that if I came to them, they would betray mee.

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[3] William Knolles. He was Treaſurer of the houſehold to Queen Elizabeth. He was raiſed to high honours by James I. was made Maſter of the Wards, and Knight of the Garter. He was created Earl of Banbury by Charles I. in the ſecond year of that King's reign, probably the year when theſe Memoirs were put together.

I retourned and tooke horſe betweene nine and ten[4] a clocke, and that night rode to [5] *Doncaſter*. The Fryday night I came to my owne houſe at *Witherington*, and preſently tooke order with my deputies to ſee the borders kept in quiet, which they had much to doe: and gave order the next morning the King of *Scotland* ſhould be proclaimed King of *Eng-*

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[4] On Thurſday morning, March 24.

[5] Situated upon the river Done in Yorkſhire, 155 miles from London.

land, and at [6] *Morpit* and [7] *Anwick.* Very early on Saturday I tooke horſe for *Edenborough*, and came to [8] *Norham* about twelve at noone, ſo that I might well have been with the King at ſupper time: but I gott a great fall by the way, and my horſe with one of his heels gave mee a great blow on the head that made mee ſhed much blood. It made mee ſo weake that I was forced to ride a ſoft pace after, ſo that the King was newly gone to bed by the time that I knocked at the [9] gate. I was quickly lett in, and carried up to the King's chamber. I kneeled by him, and ſaluted him by his title of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*. Hee gave mee his hand to kiſſe, and bade me welcome [10]. After hee had long diſcourſed of the manner of the Queen's ſickneſſe and of her death, he aſked what letters I had from the Councill? I told him, none: and acquainted him how narrowly I eſcaped from them [11]. And yet I had brought him a blue ring from a faire lady, that I hoped would give him aſſurance of the truth that I had reported. Hee tooke it and looked upon it, and ſaid; "It is enough: I know by this you "are a true meſſenger." Then he committed me to the charge of my Lord *Hume*, and gave ſtreight command that I ſhould want nothing. Hee ſent for his chirurgions to attend mee, and when I kiſs'd his hand at my departure, he ſaid to mee theſe gracious words: "I know you have "loſt a neere kinſewoman, and a "loving miſtreſſe; but take here "my hand, I will be as good a "maſter to you, and will requite "this ſervice with honour and re-"ward."

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[6] Morpeth, a borough town in Northumberland, ſituated upon the river Wanſpech. [Wentſbeach.]

[7] The caſtle of Anwick has been mentioned before, page 112. The town, which lies directly north of Morpeth in the high road to Berwick, ſtands upon the river Alne in Northumberland.

[8] The laſt town, or rather village, in the moſt northern part of Northumberland, near the mouth of the Tweed, ſouth weſt of Berwick. See page 104.

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[9] Of Holyrood Houſe, on Saturday, March 26, 1603.

[10] This interview is particularly mentioned by Francis Oſborne, Eſq; in his TRADITIONAL, or rather SATYRICAL MEMORIALS of James I.

[11] See the Preface.

So I left him that night, and went with my Lord *Hume* to my lodging, where I had all things fitting for ſo weary a man as I was. After my head was dreſt, I tooke leave of my Lord and many others that attended mee, and went to my reſt.

The next morning by ten a clock my Lord *Hume* was ſent to me from the King, to know how I had reſted; and withall ſaid, that his Majeſty commanded him to know of mee, what it was that I deſired moſt, that he ſhould do for mee; bade mee aſke, and it ſhould be granted. I deſired my Lord to ſay to his Majeſtie from mee, that I had no reaſon to importune him for any ſuite, for that I had not as yet done him any ſervice: but my humble requeſt to his Majeſty was, to admitt mee a gentleman of his bedchamber, and hereafter, I knew, if his Majeſty ſaw mee worthy, I ſhould not want to taſte of his bounty. My Lord returned this anſwer, that hee ſent me word back, "with all his heart, I ſhould "have my requeſt." And the next time I came to court (which was ſome four dayes after) at night, I was called into his bedchamber, and there by my Lord of [12] *Richmond*, in his preſence, I was ſworne one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber, and preſently I helped to take off his clothes, and ſtayed 'till he was in bed. After this there came daily gentlemen and noblemen from our court, and the King ſett downe a fixed day for his departure towards [13] *London*.

Upon the report of the Queen's death the *Eaſt-border* broke forth into great unrulineſſe, inſomuch as many complaints came to the King thereof. I was deſireous to go to appeaſe them, but I was ſo weake and ill of my head, that I was not able to undertake ſuch a journey, but I offered that I would ſend my two deputyes that ſhould appeaſe the trouble and make them quiet, which was by them ſhortly after effected.

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[12] Lodowick Stewart Duke of Richmond and Lenox, a relation to James I. by whom he was much, and moſt deſervedly regarded, being a nobleman of an excellent character.

[13] He left Edinburgh April 5, and was a month in his journey; hunting and feaſting the whole way.

Now was I to beginne a new worlde; for by the King's coming to the crowne, I was to looſe the beſt part of my living. For my office of Wardenry ceaſed, and I loſt the pay of forty horſe, which were not ſo little (both) as a thouſand pounds per annum. Moſt of the great ones in court envyed my happineſſe when they heard I was ſworne of the King's bedchamber: and in *Scotland* I had no acquaintance. I onely relied on God and the King. The one never left mee, the other ſhortly after his coming to *London* deceived my expectation, and adhered to thoſe that ſought my ruin [14].

At the King's coming to the Tower there was, at the leaſt, twenty *Scotch* gentlemen diſcharged of the [15] bedchamber, and ſworne gentlemen of the privy chamber, amongſt which (ſome that wiſhed mee little good had ſuch credit with the King that) I was to go the ſame way that the reſt did; out of God's bleſſing into the warme ſunne. I could not help it. Thoſe that ruled the helme had ſo reſolved it; and I was forced to that I could not helpe. All the comfort that I had was the King's aſſurance that I ſhould ſhortly be admitted to his bedchamber againe. And whereas I was promiſed one hundred pounds per annum in fee farme, it was cut ſhort to one hundred marke. Thus all things went croſſe with mee, and patience was my beſt companion. He that did me moſt [16] hurt, and was greedy of *Naboth*'s vineyard, gave mee that counſaile which I followed, and I found after it did mee much good. Hee told mee he knew the King better than I did, and aſſured me that if the King did perceive in me a diſcontented minde, I ſhould never have his love nor favour againe [17]. I had a ſad heart, yet ſtill before the King I ſhewed myſelfe merry and joviall.

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[14] Neither the ſeverities of Oſborne, nor the more juſt cenſures of Rapin, nor the ſeveral bitter ſtrokes that have been vented by every late writer againſt James I. have wounded that monarch ſo effectually, as what here falls from Sir Robert Cary's pen. Oſborne may be ſaid to write with rage; Rapin not to be totally free from prejudice; moſt of the others to ſwim with the ſtream, and not to give themſelves ſufficient time to weigh the good and the evil; but the Author of theſe Memoirs appears ſo evidently void of that haſte which attends rancour, and that prejudice which accompanies revenge, that what he here ſays of himſelf and his royal maſter may be depended upon as a truth—A truth that ſhews how unhappily King James was governed by favourites, and how eaſily he forgot his promiſes.

[15] Amongſt whom Mr. James Hays, mentioned hereafter, page 159, was one.

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[16] Whoever this was, our Author with great tenderneſs ſecretes his name; partly perhaps

This continued 'till the [18] Queene came up, which was the next [19] ſummer.

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perhaps from gratitude, ſince after he had ſeized the vineyard he gave Naboth good advice.

[17] The King was chearful and facetious at his meals, and in his idle converſations. He loved to ſee thoſe he talked to as jovial as himſelf, eſpecially when he was conſcious that he had given them occaſion to be otherwiſe.

[18] Ann, ſecond daughter of Frederick King of Denmark.

[19] She arrived at York June 11, 1603, and meeting the King ſoon after at Sir G. Fermor's

mer. My wife waited on her; and at *Windſor* was ſworne of her privy chamber, and miſtreſſe of her ſweet [20] coffers, and had a lodging allowed her in court. This was ſome comfort to mee, that I had my wife ſo neare mee. Shortly after her coming [21] ſhe made ſuite for *James* [22] *Hayes* to be admitted againe

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mor's ſeat in Northamptonſhire, proceeded with him to London.

[20] They were called ſweet coffers, from the variety of muſks and ſweets, in which the Queen's cloaths were kept, according to the perfumed faſhion of thoſe times. The employment, I believe, was the ſame as that which is now termed Miſtreſs of the robes.

[21] The Queen.

[22] To ſhew a ſpecimen of Oſborne's bitterneſs, ſpeaking of this gentleman, he ſays, "It is known he [James Hays] did beſtow more trimming in the varniſh of a "wainſcot carcaſs, than any of his maſter's "anceſtors did in the cloathing themſelves "and their own families." In the repreſentation of characters and things, two different ſides

[23] againe into the bedchamber with *Philip* [24] *Herbert*. I beſtirred myſelfe as well as I could, and charged the King with his promiſe, but could do

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ſides may generally be exhibited; the one black, the other white. Oſborne never fails to exhibit only the dark ſide. Writers who act more ingenuouſly, exhibit both. This gentleman, Sir James Hays, is repreſented in hiſtory as ſumptuous in his apparel, coſtly in his manner of living, and ſplendid in his entertainment of foreigners. He was ſent Embaſſadour into France in the fifteenth year of K. James, where he ſpared no coſt to ſuſtain the honour and wealth (Oſborne would ſay the luxury and extravagance) of the Engliſh nation. "Having, ſays a geneologiſt, his ante-"ſuppers, at one of which, an attendant eat "for his own ſhare, a pye reckoned at twenty "pounds ſterling."

[23] He was a gentleman of the bedchamber in Scotland, and deſired to be in the ſame poſt in England.

[24] Brother to the Earl of Pembroke. He pretended, ſays Lord Clarendon, to no other qualifications than to underſtand horſes and dogs very well.—He was Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford.

no good. They were taken in [25], and poor I refuſed, never after to hope for it.

They left me not thus that wiſhed me evil, but having nothing but *Norham* to live on, my good Lord of [26] *Dunbar* begg'd the keeping of it over my head, and I did ſee it was folly to ſtrive, and therefore thought on the next beſt courſe to do myſelfe good. *Dunbar* thirſted after nothing more then to gett of mee the poſſeſſion of *Norham*. My Lord *Cecill* was umpire between us: he offered five thouſand pounds: I held it at ſeven thouſand: ſix thouſand pounds was agreed upon, which was truly paid, and did mee more good than if I had kept *Norham.* After the agreement made, having received two thouſand pounds, the reſt I was to have at three months and three months, I then tooke my journey to the North to give his agents poſſeſſion of *Norham.* I ſold them there as much goods, as, when I retourned back, I received of my Lord *Dunbar* eight hundred pounds for.

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[25] They afterwards became great favourites, and enjoyed very high promotions. Sir James Hay was created Earl of Carliſle, and Philip Herbert was created Earl of Montgomery. Both were made Knights of the Garter.

[26] George Hume Earl of Dunbar. He bears a character in hiſtory of great integrity, conduct, and reſolution.

When I was at *Norham*, God putt it into my minde to go to [27] *Dumferlyn*,

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[27] Dumfermling-caſtle in the ſhire of Fife: where was a ſumptuous abby, built by Malcolm III. whoſe father Donald (or Duncan) was murdered by Macbeth. Malcolm III. began his reign A. C. 1059. From that time the

lyn, to ſee the King's ſecond [28] ſonne. I found him a very weake child. I ſtayed a day or two with my Lord of [29] *Dumferlyn*, whom I had long knowne, and was my noble friend, and ſo retourned to court againe.

The ſummer after my Lord *Dumferlyn* and his Lady were to bring up the young Duke. The King was at *Theobalds*, when he heard that they were paſt *Northumberland*; from thence the King ſent mee to meet them, and gave mee commiſſion to ſee them furniſhed with all things neceſſary, and to

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the abby of Dumfermling was the burying place, and the caſtle was the reſidence of the Kings of Scotland.

[28] The miſguided, unfortunate Charles I.

[29] Alexander Seaton Earl of Dumfermling, Chancellor of Scotland. As he was educated in the Roman catholic religion, he continued in it to his laſt moments. Prudence, integrity, and moderation, were the characteriſtics which diſtinguiſhed him throughout his life.

ſtay with them 'till they had brought the Duke to court. I did ſo, and found the Duke at [30] *Biſhops Awkeland.* I attended his Grace all his journey up, and at Sir *George Farmer*'s in [31] *Northamptonſhire* wee found the King and Queene, who were very glad to ſee their young ſonne.

There were many great ladyes ſuitors for the keeping of the [32] Duke; but when they did ſee how weake a child he was, and not likely to live, their hearts were downe, and none of them was deſireous to take charge of him.

After my Lord Chancellor of *Scotland* and his Lady had ſtayed here from Midſommer 'till towards Michaelmaſſe, they were to retourne for *Scotland* and to leave the Duke behind them. The Queene (by approbation of the [33] Lord Chancellor) made choice of my wife to have the care and keeping of the Duke. Thoſe who wiſhed mee no good were glad of it, thinking that if the Duke ſhould die in our charge (his weakeneſſe being ſuch as gave them great cauſe to ſuſpect it) then it would not be thought fitt that wee ſhould remaine in court after. My gracious God left mee not, but out of weakeneſſe he ſhewed his ſtrength, and beyond all mens expectations ſo bleſſed the Duke with health and ſtrength, under my wive's charge, as he grew better and better every day. The King and Queene rejoyced much to ſee him proſper as he did, and my wife for the care ſhe had of him and her diligence (which indeed was great) was well eſteemed of them both, as did well appeare. For by her procurement when I was from court, ſhe gott mee a ſuite of the King that was worth to mee afterwards four or five thouſand pounds. I had the charge given mee of the Duke's houſehold, and none allowed to his ſervice, but ſuch as I gave way to, by which meanes I preferred to him a number of my owne ſervauntes. In the meane time that my wife had the charge of him, my daughter was brought up with the King's [34] daughter and ſerved her, and had the happineſſe to be allowed to waite on her in the privy lodgings. My wife and ſelfe, by waiting ſtill in the privy lodgings of the Duke, gott better eſteeme of the King and Queene.

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[30] A market town in the biſhopric of Durham, where the Biſhops of that ſee have a palace.

[31] Eaton was the name of Sir George Farmer's ſeat.

[32] Of York.

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[33] Lord Dumfermling, Chancellor of Scotland.

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[34] The Princeſs Elizabeth. She was born in Dumfermling caſtle. She was married in the year 1612, to Frederic, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, elected King of Bohemia. This illuſtrious

The Duke was paſt foure yeares old when he was firſt delivered to my wife; he was not able to go, nor ſcant ſtand alone, he was ſo weake in his jointes, and eſpecially his ankles, inſomuch as many feared they were out of joint. Yet God ſo bleſſed him, both with health and ſtrength, that he proved daily ſtronger and ſtronger. Many a battaile my wife had with the King, but ſhe ſtill prevailed. The King was deſireous that the ſtring under his tongue ſhould be cutt, for he was ſo

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illuſtrious and unfortunate Princeſs was great grandmother to his preſent Majeſty.

long beginning to ſpeak as hee thought hee would never have ſpoke [35]. Then he would have him putt in iron bootes, to ſtrengthen his ſinews and joints; but my wife proteſted ſo much againſt them both, as ſhe gott the victory, and the King was faine to yeeld. My wife had the charge of him from a little paſt foure, till he was almoſt eleven yeare old; in all which time he daily grew more and more in health and ſtrength both of body and minde, to the amazement of many that knew his weakeneſſe when ſhe firſt tooke charge of him [36]. Now was my wife to leave her charge, and the Duke to have none but men to attend upon him. My wife had four hundred pounds a year penſion during her life, and admitted to the Queene's ſervice in the place ſhee was before, and ſo with greate greiſe tooke leave of her dear Maſter the Duke.

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[35] He always had an impediment in his ſpeech. It is remarked ſomewhere, that he had leſs of it at his tryal than at any other time; probably becauſe he was then more cautious and conſiderate than at other times: he was naturally haſty in his manner of ſpeaking, eſpecially when irritated, which he was eaſily apt to be, till his troubles reduced a ſpirit and diſpoſition in him, which were extremely improper and ungraceful.

And now beganne anew more troubles for mee to run through; for it was reſolved by ſome of my ill wiſhers that I ſhould leave his ſervice when my wife went from him. And to that end there was a *Scotch* gentleman of great learning, and very good worth, ſent for out of *Ireland* from his ſervice there, to be placed as chiefe Gouvernour over the Duke, both in his bedchamber, and over his houſehold; and Prince *Henry* the cheife inſtrument of his preferment [37]. Over hee came, and daily expected to receive his charge by the appointment of the King and Councill: and to that end a Councill was called, the King being preſent, where it was propounded, that this gentleman ſhould be chiefe gentleman of his bedchamber, maſter of his robes, and commander of his houſehold and family: and for that I had ſerved him long, they would not [38] CLEANE diſmiſſe me, but I ſhould be of his bedchamber ſtill, and keeper of his privy purſe. It was neere concluding that it ſhould be ſo, but my God that never forſooke me, putt it into the minde of my Lord Chamberlaine [39] *Suffolke* to ſay ſomething for me. It was no more but this; he ſaid to the King, "Sir, "this gentleman that is recommended "to bee ſo neere the Duke, I have "heard much worth of him, and by "report hee is a fitt man for neere at-"tendance about his Grace. Notwith-"ſtanding, give mee leave, I beſeech "you, to ſpeak my knowledge of my "coſin *Cary*. I have knowne him "long, and the manner of his living. "There was none in the late Queene's "court, that lived in a better faſhion

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[36] Unleſs he had fallen by an untimely death, his ſtrength of nature, his temperance, and his regularity were ſuch, as muſt have carried him to a very great age.

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[37] Henry Prince of Wales was particularly acute in his judgement of men of worth and learning. Such it ſeems was this gentleman, but is name remains concealed.

[38] entirely.

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[39] Lord Thomas Howard. He was only ſon by the ſecond wife to Thomas the ſecond Duke of Norfolk. He was created Earl of Suffolk in the firſt year of King James [1603] to whom he was Lord Chamberlain.

" then hee did. Hee ſo behaved him-
" ſelfe, that hee was beloved of all in
" court and elſewhere; whereſoever
" he went, the company he kept was
" of the beſt, as well noblemen as
" others. He carryed himſelfe ſo as
" every honeſt man was glad of his
" company. He ever ſpent with the
" beſt, and wore as good cloths as any,
" and he exceeded in making choice
" of what he wore to be handſome
" and comely. His birth I need ſpeake
" nothing of: it is known well enough.
" I leave him to your Majeſtie to diſ-
" poſe of: only this, ſure I am, there
" is none about the Duke that knowes
" how to furniſh him with clothes and
" apparell ſo well as hee; and there-
" fore in my opinion, hee is the fitteſt
" man to be maſter of the robes." This
caſt the ſcales. The King tooke hold
of his ſpeech, and ſaid, hee had ſpoken
juſtly

juſtly and honeſtly; my birth and breeding requiring the chiefe place about his ſonne, and I ſhould have it, and the maſterſhip of his robes; he ſhould do me a great deal of wrong elſe. Hereupon though many were mad againſt it, yet the King's pleaſure being ſignified, there durſt none oppoſe, but it was by the Councill concluded, that I ſhould bee ſworne chiefe gentleman of his bedchamber, and of the office of his robes; and the other of his bedchamber, and maſter of his privy purſe. The King and Councill being riſen, word was with all ſpeed ſent to St. *James*'s to Prince *Henry* of what was decreed. By the perſwaſion of ſome about him, he came to *Whitehall* in all haſte to alter this reſolution. Hee was much diſcontented, and greatly deſired an alteration. The

King ſent for my Lord Chamberlaine. The Prince was very earneſt, and ſomething angry at my Lord, that he had ſaid ſo much. He very nobly excuſed himſelfe, that he had ſaid no more but what he knew to be true. After long diſpute, and that the Prince ſaw the King was unwilling to alter what was reſolved by the Councill, he ſaid to my Lord, "I hope it ſhall not "offend you, if I can gett Sir *Robert* "*Cary* himſelfe to accept of the ſecond "place." He anſwered, no: what I conſented to ſhould ſatisfy him; ſo they parted, and the Prince came to St. *James*'s much troubled. I had word what paſſed betwixt them. To St. *James*'s I went, and attended in the Prince's privy chamber to know his pleaſure, looking ſtill when he ſhould call to ſpeak with mee. I ſtayed two dayes, and heard no word from him.

The third after ſupper, he called me to the cup-bord, and thus began. "You know my brother is to have his "houſe-hold ſettled, and there are two "places about him of equal worth; "and becauſe you have ſerved him "long, and are nobly borne, it is rea- "ſon you ſhould have your choice. "There is the ſurveyorſhip of his "landes (which I take to be the beſt "place) and the maſterſhip of his "robes. You have many friends, "and by having that office, you may "do them and yourſelfe good. The "other I take to be a place of no "ſuch import. I thought good to "know of yourſelfe, which you would "make choice of [40]." I humbly thanked him, that hee gave mee that reſpect in adviſing mee to that which hee thought beſt; but I humbly craved pardon, alledging my inſufficiency in the one, which if I ſhould accept, I ſhould wrong my Maſter and diſcredit myſelfe; and if I had ſkill in any thing, I thought I could tell how to make good cloathes; and therefore deſired humbly I might continue in the place I had; and that he would pleaſe to diſpoſe of the other as he liked. Hee was ſatisfied with my anſwer, and within two dayes after I was ſworne cheife gentleman of the bedchamber, and maſter of the robes; and the other, gentleman of the bedchamber, maſter of the privy purſe, and ſurveyor generall of his lands.

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[40] The few letters remaining of this hope-full Prince, and this private converſation with Sir Robert Cary, joined to the ſeveral anec-dotes

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dotes we have of his ſhort life, ſhew him to have been of a moſt noble, ſincere, juſt, and generous diſpoſition.

This ſtorme was thus blowne over, and I was ſettled as I deſired. I continued ſo a long time, and God ſo bleſſed mee, as I had the favour and good opinion of the King, and regained my credit with that worthy Prince, that maugre the malice of ſome neere about him, he thought me honeſt and faithfull to the King, himſelfe and his brother: and daily more and more I found the Prince to conceive better and better of mee. But the hopes I had of him did quickly vaniſh, for within two yeares [41] after, it pleaſed God to call to his mercy that hopefull and brave Prince, *that was a terror to his enemies, and a ſure anchor to his friends* [42]:

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[41] On Sunday October 12th, 1611.

[42] All hiſtorians agree in giving an excellent and exalted character to Prince Henry. He was certainly a moſt hopefull Prince. He died in

and that ſmall time he lived here, he employed it ſo worthily, as the loſs of him was ſo greivous to all the ſubjects of this iſland, that no expreſſion of ſorrow could enough manifeſt their greiſe.

The Duke by ſucceſſion was then Prince; and before I could imagine any miſcheiſe to be plotted againſt mee, there was a ſure groundwork layd (as they thought) to ſupplant mee, and put mee from being his Chamberlaine at his creation when he was Prince of *Wales*. Long before the time, one neere about the Prince would often ſay to mee, that at his creation I was ſure

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in a lucky hour for his fame and happineſs; whilſt his laurels were freſh, and long before they could poſſibly be blaſted, by envy, malice, revenge, or, to comprehend all hell in one word, by party.

to be his Chamberlaine; but then I could not be of his bedchamber. I did alwayes anſwer, that I would not be put out of his bedchamber for any other office that could be given mee; but I did ſee no reaſon why I ſhould not hold them both. This kinde of language he held oft with me. At laſt before the Prince in his ſchoole-chamber, he began the like ſpeech, the Prince affirming I could not be both. I then ſuſpected ſomething, and pleaded for myſelfe, that there was a preſent example of my Lord of *Sommerſet*, who was the King's Chamberlaine, and yet kept the bedchamber. It was alledged that he was a favourite, but never any before had them both. I ſaid there was as great reaſon for me to be Chamberlaine, and of his bedchamber, as for another to be his Surveyor General, and to hold his place in the bedchamber. That was ſaid to be but a petty office, but the Chamberlaine's place was of a high nature. This diſcourſe was moved before the Prince, of purpoſe that he might heare me refuſe the Chamberlaine's place, except I might continue my place in the bedchamber (which was all they deſired). Shortly after, they gott the Prince to confirm to the King what he heard me ſay, that I would not be his Chamberlaine, to looſe my place in the bedchamber. Then they pleaded to the King, how unfit it was that any man ſhould hold both places; and that there was no example that ever Prince had the like: inſomuch as they brought the King to their opinion. Then the King was wrought on to make my Lord of

[43] *Roxborough* the Prince's Chamberlaine, which was concluded; but kept ſo ſecret, as none knew of it but the King, the Prince, my good friend, and *Roxborough.* This was about Eaſter. On a ſodaine it was reſolved that the Prince ſhould, the Midſommer after, be created. Some ten dayes before the time it was whiſpered, that *Roxborough* ſhould be Chamberlaine, and at laſt it came to my ears. The court was fully perſwaded that none but myſelfe ſhould hold the place, which made mee think it would be a great diſgrace to mee to miſſe it, and made mee uſe the beſt meanes I could to gett the place, and prevent them. After I gott the true knowledge of all their proceedings,

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[43] Robert Kerr Earl of Roxburgh.

and how the King and Prince were brought in by a wile to give the place from me, I addreſt myſelfe to the Queene, told her all I knew, and how ſecretly it had been plotted and wrought. I humbly beſought her Majeſtie to interpoſe for mee. When ſhe had heard mee, ſhe could not believe that *Roxborough*, or his friend, durſt, or would ſeeke ſo eminent a place under her ſonne, without her knowledge and conſent. But when by *Roxborough*'s wife ſhe was aſſured of it, ſhe ſent for mee againe, and told mee, it was true that I had ſaid, but bade me me trouble myſelfe no further: her wrong was more than mine, and ſhe would right both herſelfe and mee. Preſently ſhe made known both to *Roxborough*, and his friend, in what diſdaine ſhe tooke it, that they durſt undertake ſuch a buſineſſe without acquainting her, and vowed they ſhould buy the neglect of her at a deare rate. Shee kept her word; for *Roxborough* was preſently ſent into *Scotland* in her high diſgrace, and never after ſaw her; my other friend felt her heavy hand a long time after. And at the Prince's creation, which was the Michaelmaſſe[44] following, I was ſworne the Prince's Chamberlaine, and continued of his bedchamber. Thus did God raiſe up the Queene to take my part, and by her meanes the ſtorme that was ſo ſtrongly plotted againſt mee, was brought to nought.

Then was the Prince's houſe ſettled; and amongſt other officers, Sir *John*

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[44] Anno 1616.

Villiers was ſworne of his bedchamber, and Sir *Robert Car*; the one made maſter of the robes, the other keeper of the privy purſe: Sir *James Fullerton* groome of the ſtoole, and Mr. *Murrey* ſecretary.

Long before this, had I married my daughter to my Lord *Wharton*'s [45] ſonne and heire. My eldeſt [46] ſonne was, at the Prince's creation, made a Knight of the Bath (who was then newly come from travaile) and by the Queene's meanes, my youngeſt [47] ſonne was, before his creation, ſworne a groome of his bedchamber. My wife waited on the Queene, and myſelfe on the Prince; ſo (for the time it laſted) we lived at no great charge, and moſt of the little meanes we had, we employed as it came in to the bettering of our eſtate.

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[45] Sir Thomas Wharton.

[46] Henry.

[47] Thomas.

But it continued not long thus, for within foure years after, or thereabouts, the Queene[48] dyed; her houſe diſſolved, and my wife was forced to keep houſe and family, which was out of our way a thouſand pounds a year that wee ſaved before. In this ſtate I continued 'till I came to the age of almoſt ſixty yeares, in favour both with the King and my Maſter. About this[49] time I married my eldeſt[50] ſonne to the eldeſt daughter of Sir *Lionell Cranfeild*, afterwards Earle of *Middleſex*, and Lord Treaſurer of *England*. Not long after, by my Maſter's meanes, the King made me Baron of [51] *Leppington*. Two years after, the Prince and my Lord of *Buckingham* went from *Theobalds* to *New-hall*. The 17th of *February* the King went to *Newmarket*. There the Prince appointed myſelfe and the reſt of his ſervants to meet him two dayes after. But the firſt newes that we heard was, that the Prince and my Lord Duke were gone for *Spain* [52]. This made a great hubbub in our court, and in all *England* beſides. I was appointed to go after him by ſea, and to carry ſuch ſervants of his with mee, as the Prince had left word ſhould come after, and ſuch others as the King allowed. I had a large commiſſion made me for the gouvernment, and to keep in good order thoſe that went with mee. From *Portſmouth* we ſett ſaile about the middeſt of *March*, and the fourth day after wee landed at *St. Andero*'s in *Biſcay*, and there I received a letter from the Prince, that all his ſervauntes ſhould retourne back in the ſhip they came, only myſelfe and my Lord *Compton* ſhould come to him to *Madrid*. To *Madrid* I came ſome ſixe dayes after; before which time the Prince had remanded his ſervants to come to him. There I ſtayed ſome [53] month with the Prince, by which time he found that his ſtay there would be longer than he expected. He conſidered my yeares, and feared the heate of the yeare coming faſt on, would much diſtemper mee, and therefore perſwaded mee to retourne for *England*, and ſent a great many of his ſervants back with mee. Wee retourned in the ſhip we came, and landed at *Portland* in *Dorſetſhire*. There I tooke poſt, and came to *Greenwich* to the King. I delivered him the Prince's letters, and after ſome diſcourſe had with me, I kiſt his hand, tooke my leave of him, and came to my owne houſe, where I remained very privately, untill the Prince's retourne. I muſt not forget God's goodneſſe towards me in this journey. I was then upon ſixty-three yeares of age (yeares not well agreeing with ſuch a journey) but God ſo bleſſed mee from the firſt to the laſt, as I continued in perfect health; and all the time I was in *Spaine* I had ſuch a ſtomake to my meat, as in my yonger dayes I never had the like.

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[48] She died in 1619.
[49] I believe in the year 1620.
[50] Henry.

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[51] Anno 1621.

[52] They ſet out poſt for Spain Febr. 17th, and arrived at Madrid March 7th, 1623.

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[53] About a month.

At Michaelmaſſe after, to the comfort of all true *Engliſh* hearts, the Prince landed at [54] *Portſmouth*. After this, the match was broken off with *Spaine*, and a treaty in *France* for the King's youngeſt ſiſter. My Lord of [55] *Holland* was employed Ambaſſadour for this ſervice, and my Lord of [56] *Carleil* ſent after him for aſſiſtance. Many to's and fro's there were before it was concluded. Two yeares or more were ſpent in this affair, and when it was come to a full point of agreement on all parts, the King fell ſick of a tertian ague at *Theobalds*, and to the greife of all true hearts died of that ſickneſſe the 27th day of *March*, in the twenty-ſecond yeare of his reigne.

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[54] The Prince having departed from Madrid Sept. 9th, and ſetting ſail from St. Andero the 11th, landed in England Oct. 5th, 1623.

[55] Henry Rich Earl of Holland. He was beheaded immediately after his royal Maſter, at the ſame time with the Duke of Hamilton, and the noble-ſpirited Lord Capel. The Earl of Clarendon, in characteriſing Lord Holland, ſays, "He was a well-bred man, and a fine "gentleman in good times, but too much de- "ſired

And now beganne afreſh, in my old yeares, new troubles: for whereas heretofore

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" ſired to enjoy eaſe and plenty, when the
" King could have neither, and did think poverty
" the moſt inſupportable evil that could
" befall any man in this world."

[56] Sir James Hay, mentioned in page 159. Might we not aſk the critical Mr. Oſborne, could the Ambaſſadour live too ſplendidly, or appear too magnificent, in a treaty of marriage for the King's only ſon, and the immediate heir of the crown?

tofore all Princes, when they came to be Kinges, had an eſpeciall care to preferre their old ſervaunts, or at leaſt to let them hold the places they had under them whileſt they were Princes; it fell out otherwiſe with us. For myſelfe being his Chamberlaine, and the reſt, (as the Maſter of the horſe, Treaſurer, Comptroller, and Secretary) were all diſcharged of our places; and thoſe that ſerved in thoſe offices in the old King's time, continued in them ſtill. But the King dealt very graciouſly with us, and for the loſſe of our places, gave the moſt of us good rewards. To myſelfe in particular, he gave (to mee and my heires for ever) five hundred pounds per annum in fee farme, which was a very bountifull guift, and a good ſatisfaction for the loſſe of my office; and eſpecially becauſe

cauſe I continued my place of gentleman of the bedchamber.

In *May* after, the King went to *Dover* to meete his new [57] Queene, and by the time he came back with her to *Whitehall*, the plague grew ſo hott in *London*, as none that could tell how to gett out of it, would ſtay there. The King and Queene removed to *Hampton Court*. The infection grew hotter and hotter. The Parliament was removed to *Oxford*. The plague grew hott there too, ſo that what for that and other [58] diſcontents, the Parliament was diſſolved. The King went in progreſſe to *Beauly*. The Queene retourned to [59] *Oatelands* and [60] *None-ſuch*, and I and my family to [61] *Kenelworth*, where we ſtayed the ſummer. Towards Michaelmaſſe the plague beganne to decreaſe. The King retourning from his progreſſe, was met by the Queene at *Saliſbury*, at which place I found his Majeſtie, (leaving my wife and family at *Kenelworth*). I waited on him 'till he retourned Southward, and [alſo waited on him] at *Windſor*.

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[57] Henrietta Maria, daughter of the great Henry IV. by Mary de Medici: a Princeſs who proved more pernicious to this kingdom, than the peſtilence which raged at her arrival.

[58] The diſcontents were many, and ſome of them juſt. They were as hot and infectious as the plague itſelf.

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[59] A royal ſeat in Surry: the jointure houſe of Queen Henrietta Maria; pulled down, and even the materials ſold, ſoon after the cataſtrophe of King Charles in 1649.

[60] Another royal ſeat in Surry: built by Henry VIII. in all the magnificence of that time.

[61] In Warwickſhire, where are now the remains of one of the fineſt caſtles in England.

Some ten dayes before Chriſtmaſſe the King and Queene went to keep their Chriſtmaſſe at *Hampton Court*, and I retourned to *Kenelworth*, and ſtay'd there ten dayes after Chriſtmaſſe, where I heard of a new Parliament to beginne the 8th of *February*, and that the King was to be crowned at *Weſtminſter* the 6th thereof[62]. I retourned to court, and among others that the King pleaſed to give honours to at his coronation, I was created Earle of *Monmouth*.

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[62] 1626.

APPENDIX.

Sir ROBERT CAREY to the Lord HUNSDEN his Father.

MAY it pleaſe your Lordſhip t' underſtande, that yeſterday yn the afternoone, I ſtoode by her Majeſtie, as ſhe was att cards yn the preſéns chamber. She cawlde me too her, and aſket me, when you ment too go too *Barwyke*? I towlde hyr, that you determynde to begyn your journey preſently after Whytſontyd. She grew yntoo a grate rage, begynnynge with Gods Wonds, that ſhe wolde ſett you by the feete, and ſende another yn your place, if you dalyed with her thus; for ſhe wolde nott be thus dalyed with all. I towlde her, that with as much poſſyble ſpeed as myght be, you wolde departe; and that your lyyng att *London* thys fortnyght was too no other ende but to make provyſion for your jorney. She anſeryd me, that you have byn goynge from Cryſtmas too Eſter, and from Eſter to Whytſonday; but if you differde the tyme any longer, ſhe wolde appoynt ſome uther yn your place; and thys meſſage ſhe commandyd me to ſende you.

Your Lps humble and obedyent Sunne,

R. CAREY.

To the Ryghte Honorable my very goode L. and Father, my L. of Hunſden.

HENRY Lord HUNSDON to Lord BURGHLEY, Lord Treaſurer of England.

My very goode Lord,

HAVYNGE alwayſe founde your L. my goode L. and frende more then any uther, I am the bowlder too acquaynte your L. with a harde accydente too me, ſuch as I thynke your L. wolde as hardly beleve, as I dyd lyttell looke for ytt.

Thys day at dyner I recevyd a letter from my ſunn *Robartt Carey*, of ſuch ſpeechys as hyr Majeſtie euſy'd unto hym upon Sunday towchynge me; which for brevyty ſake I ſende your L. the coppy of; wheryn I thynk my ſelfe ſo hardly delte with all by her Majeſtie, as I cannott beyre it, nor obay itt yn ſuche ſort, as ſhe commands ytt.

My L. I have never refuſyd to ſerve hyr; howſoever ſhe commandyd me, ſo longe as I was able; and beynge now, by reaſon of the maryagys of my two dawters, and beſyds theyr maryage-mony, was att as grete chargys with the tyme of theyr maryagys, as theyr maryage-mony came unto; beynge now commanded too repayre to *Barwyke*, I deſyerde only att hyr Majeſtie's hands the lone of 1000 £. too be payde upon my intertaynment of *Barwyke* and the wardenery, wherof too be repayde the one halfe at Mychalmas next, and the uther halfe at our Lady day, whyche to be borrowyde of a marchant, the intereſt comes nott too 100 £. and trewly I wolde nott have made ſo ſymple a ſeute unto hyr, but thatt apon thes occaſyons aforeſayde I hade layde all my platte to gage, without which I cowlde nott with any credytt go thyther; and hopynge, that ſhe wolde conſyder ſo farr of my nede, I have ſtayde herapon, the rather knowynge the matters both of *Scottland* and the Bordars too be yn ſuche ſtate, as ther was no ſuche neceſſitye of my ſaid haſty goynge to *Barwike*. But ſyns I fynde her Majeſtie ſo ſmall care of my neceſſyte, and ſo redy to threten mee, not only with the placynge of ſumme uther yn my place, butt alſo too impryſon me; ſyns my ſuytt ys no better conſyderyd of by hyr, and that her Majeſtie ys ſo reddy apon ſo ſmall cawſe too deale thus (nott hardly) but extremely with me, as I hade the offyce of *Barwyke* of her Majeſtie ſpecyally, and only by your L. goode meanes agenſte the wylls of uthers, who ſought too putt me by ytt, too preferre uthers of theyr frends unto ytt; ſo am I moſt hartely too pray your L. that as you were the only brynger of me too that office, wheryn I hope I have performyd my dewty, bothe for her Majeſtie's ſervys, and for the goode of the hole countrey, bothe too her Majeſtie's honor, the benyfitt of the cuntrey, the commendacyon of your

L.

L. who preferde me unto yet, and too myne owne credytt, yn deſpight of myn ennymys wherſoever; ſo I humbly pray your L. thatt ſyns I ſee, that hyr Majeſtie ys ſo reddy to place ſume uther yn ytt, that your L. wyl be a meanes, that I may with her favor departe withall, as I dyd with hyr goode favour receive ytt: for an offyce of that charge ys not to be govern'd by any, that hath no better credytt or countenance of hyr Majeſtie's then I have; for I am nott ignorent, what qwarrels may be pykt too any mane, that hathe ſuch a charge, if the Prynce ſhall be reddy, nott only too heare every complaynte, whyther ytt be falſe or trew; and ſo apon imagynacion too, condemn without cauſe. Well! my L. Gode ſende them joy, that ſhall ſuccede me; and too do her Majeſtie no worſe ſervys theryn, then I have done; aſſurynge your L. that I will parte from ytt with a better wyll (fyndyng my ſelfe yn no better grace with hyr Majeſtie than I do) then ever I was too receive ytt. I am the bowlder too trouble your L. thys muche, becauſe I doo by thys bearer wryght lyttle les to hyr Majeſtie: and for any impryſonment ſhe cane uſe too me, ytt ſhall redownde too hyr dyſhonor, bycauſe I neyther have nor wyll deſerve ytt, and therfore ytt ſhall nott troble me.

Thus havynge byn over tedyous too your L. I commytt your L. too the tuycion of th' almyghty. At Hunſdon this 8 of June 1584.

Your L. to commande,

HUNSDON.

To the Ryght Honorable, and my very goode L. my L. Burghley, L. Hyghe Treſurar of England.

THE

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The END.

ERRATA.

PAge 21. l. 6. *for* Hamborough-head, *read* Flamborough-head.

P. 81. l. 6. *and note.* Sir Robert Car, or rather Ker, Laird of Celford, was Warden of the Middle Marches in Scotland. He had been in 1591, obliged to fly on account of the murther of William Ker of Ancram at Edinburgh in the night, but a few months after obtain'd his pardon, thro' the interceſſion (as was ſuppoſed) of the Lord Chancellor Maitland, who afterwards married him to his niece, the daughter of Maitland of Lethington. Spotſwood's *Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland*, p. 382, 383.

The Earl of Somerſet, the favourite of King James, was not ſon of this Sir Robert Ker, Laird of Celford, but of another Ker, Laird of Farneherſt. [See Spotſwood, p. 516.] between which two families of Celford and Farneherſt there had been a long and old emulation for the wardenry of the Middle Marches and the provoſtry of Jedburgh. But Farneherſt being deceaſed, and the heir left young, Mr. William Ker, mentioned above, as deſcended of the houſe, did what he could to maintain the reputation of it, which was, ſays Archb. Spotſwood, p. 383. *an eye-ſore to the other*, viz. Sir Robert Ker.

P. 115. l. 9. Lairde of Fenhiſt, *read* Farnehurſt. l. 14. *for* incumber, *read* in cumber.

P. 131. l. 18. *for* Ternheſt, *read* Farnhurſt.

P. 664. *read* 164.

Ibid note [31] *for* Eaton, *read* Eaſton.

P. 177 note [41] *for* 7611. *read* 1612.

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